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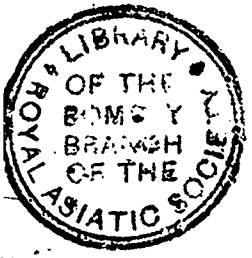
MADAGASCAR

AND ITS PEOPLE.


Comoro I.
Johanna
Mohilla
Mayotta
Gloriôso I.
C. Amber
Diego Suarez or British Sd
Minnow I.
Vahemaro B.
Nàssi bé
Passandava B.
Raduma I.
Narenda B.
Majambo B.
Mazangaye
Maroa
C. E.a
Bombetoc B.
Bevava B.
Masunzo
C. St. Andrew
Bonna
Iba Ratsi
Antongil B.
Matsa bé
Antsanaa I.
Tentinque
I. St. Mary
Fenerif B.
Foule Pt
R. Mantao
Mahavelona
Tamatave
Tamatave
Tanfoutzy
I. Iranga
Andevorande
Mitimandre
Vateu Mandré
Marvassic
Manourou R.
Paracoyla R.
Ankaratra Mts
R. Manourou
Imboudchar
Menabe R.
Menabe
Antcva
Zazaykout
Azon Lahé
Fihiraste
Mahela R.
Mananzari & R.
Namour & R.
Faraon & R.
Matatane & R.
Sahajla
Menabe
Southern Hovas
South
Mononga Be
Chavoies
Fabandza
Chaffates
Ibara
R. Mananghare
Tsienimbalala
Antaraves
Vangaindrano
Mixed Tribes of the Betsileo & Betsimisaraka Character
Anosy
Mahafaly
Androy
St Luce B.
Mangafaly
Fangahe
Mandzoutou
Ft Dauphin
Lyons

MADAGASCAR

AND ITS PEOPLE.



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ac.

WITH A MAP,

(TAKEN, BY PERMISSION, FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, VOL. XX.)

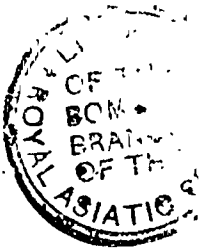
LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.
1865.

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LONDON: W. J. JOHNSON, PRINTER, 121, FLEET-STREET, E.C.



Dedication.



TO THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CLARENDON,

K.G., &c., &c., &c.

My Lord,

While studying the "Madagascar question," I necessarily became aware that your Lordship had specially thrown the weight of your influence in favour of the people of that Island; hence my offer to dedicate this Work to your Lordship.

Richelieu and Mazarin, in a bygone age, saw the advantages of trade with Madagascar; but it was reserved for the enlightened Emperor of the French, in conjunction with your Lordship, to arrange a Convention recognising the independence of Madagascar, thereby throwing open the ports of that Island to the civilization of commerce.

In accepting the Dedication of this Volume, your Lordship permits me to use a name illustrious in the historical and diplomatic annals of Britain; while you have kindly added to the numerous favours conferred on myself by allowing it to appear under the auspices of "The Friend of Madagascar."

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

8, Adelphi Terrace, London,
January, 1865.

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MADAGASCAR.

CHAPTER I.

Madagascar—Its Geographical Position—Known to the Ancients—Marco Polo — Pedro de Covilham — Bartholomew Diaz—Vasco de Gama—Fernan Suarez—Rodrigo Pereira Coutinho—Admiral Da Cunha—Camöens—Diego Lopez de Siquera—Macinorbé—Destruction of the Portuguese—English Settlement in St. Augustine Bay.

MADAGASCAR, called the Great Britain of Africa, is the principal island in the group known as the Ethiopian Archipelago. It is separated from the East Coast of Africa by the Mozambique Channel, and is distant from the nearest part of that continent 100 leagues, from the Cape of Good Hope 600 leagues, from Arabia 550 leagues, and from the continent of India 700 leagues.

The commentators of ancient geographers have recognised the Island of Madagascar under the respective names given to it by the writers of bygone ages; for, although the ideas entertained by them of its position were by no means definite, still they all agree that it was the largest island in the west part of the Erythrean or Southern Sea; and we find it known to Pliny as Cerné, to Ptolemy as Menuthias, and to Edrisi as Zaledz.

To the Arabs and Moors it has long been known under the names of Serandib,* Chebona, Comor, Comr, or Camar, which has been translated the Island of the Moon.

These early navigators also knew Madagascar under the names of Phelon or Phenbalon,† and Quambalon‡ or Chambalon.§

Edrisi, who lived in the thirteenth century (writing of this island under the names of Zaledz, Zanedz, Zabelz, or Raledz), states that, when affairs in China were troubled by rebellion, and tyranny and confusion became unbearable in India, the inhabitants of China transported their commerce to Zaledz and its neighbouring islands, and, entering into friendly relations, completely familiarised themselves with the natives.

The inhabitants of Europe were first made acquainted with the existence of this large island by Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller, who had heard of it in China as the Island of Magaster, by which name it is mentioned in an account of his travels which was published at the close of the fifteenth century.

* Rochon states that the Arabs called it Serandah, but there is good reason to believe that they knew Ceylon under this name. See *D'Herbelot Bib. Orient.*

† Malte Brun.

‡ Edrisi.

§ See *Introduction a la Géographie d'Abulfeda*, par M. Renaud, p. 306.

In the reign of King John II. of Portugal, Pedro de Covilham, who was already well acquainted with the Arabs from a residence in Africa, was sent, in 1486, by the ordinary route from Fez to Arabia, and thence proceeded to India. On his return from that continent he visited Sofala,* the ancient Ophir of Solomon, on the East Coast of Africa, and there received accounts of Madagascar.

A.D. 1486.

The knowledge possessed by the Arabs of the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Coast of Africa, communicated by Covilham to the Portuguese Monarch, gave rise to the voyage of Bartholomew Diaz, in which that fortunate explorer rounded the Southern point of Africa, discovered the Great Fish River, and reached De la Goa Bay. Diaz, in memory of the storms which had fortunately driven him round that remarkable headland, gave to it the name of the Cape of Tempests, but the King his master, worthy of presiding over the destiny of that enterprising age, called it *Cabo de Boa Esperança*—The Cape of Good Hope—a happy augury of the beacon which it would become in leading to those oceans where glory, conquest, and territory rewarded the daring enterprise of his countrymen.

Diaz was the pioneer of the illustrious Vasco de Gama, who was despatched from Portugal A.D. 1497, in command of a large squadron, and, following the course of

A.D. 1497.

* See Appendix C, "McLeod's Eastern Africa," Vol. II. Hurst and Blackett, London.

his predecessor round the Cape of Good Hope, touched at Natal, and thence proceeding North, discovered Mozambique, just two months before Columbus set out on his third voyage for the New World.

At Mozambique De Gama found civilized communities of Moors and Mahometan Arabs carrying on a lucrative trade with India, who were well acquainted with Madagascar.

In 1506 a Portuguese squadron, consisting of eight vessels, under the command of Fernan Suarez, returning from India to Portugal, was thrown upon the coast of a large island, which they called *San Lourenço,* "the inhabitants of which were very numerous, of simple manners, and who had not up to that time heard of the religion of Christ."* This island was that to which Marco Polo had already applied the name of Madeigastar, from information obtained by him in China, by which it has since been known to Europe. Suarez surveyed the East Coast of Madagascar, and then proceeded to Portugal.

A.D. 1506.

By some it is stated that Fernan Suarez called this island San Lourenço, as he had made the discovery on that saint's day; others state that he gave it that name in honour of Don Lourenço de Almeyda, first Viceroy of the East Indies for Emmanuel, King of Portugal.

* "Compendio de las Historias de los Descobrimentos de la India Oriental y sus Islas," por Martinez de la Puenta, p. 155, en Madrid, 1681, in 8vo.

'On the 6th March, 1506, a squadron, consisting of fourteen vessels, left Lisbon, under the command of Tristan da Cunha, destined for the conquest of India, in which the young Alphonso D'Albuquerque commanded four vessels, and obtained that experience which fitted him for the glorious career to which he was called when afterwards Viceroy of India. This squadron was dispersed off the Cape of Good Hope, and one portion of it, under the command of Rodrigo Pereira Coutinho, took refuge from the tempest then raging in one of the ports of the Island of Madagascar. Coutinho, charmed with the country, endeavoured to make himself better acquainted with it by sailing along the island, during which the vessel commanded by Don Ruy Pereira was lost. Coutinho, proceeding to Mozambique, fell in with the Admiral, and so filled him with the marvels of this fruitful island, that he was persuaded to visit it.

A.D. 1506.

Da Cunha anchored in a bay to which his son gave the name of *Baie donã Maria da Cunha*, in honour of the lady of his love, but to which that of Conception Bay has been subsequently assigned, oblivious of the gallantry of the young cavalier who discovered it.

The Admiral Da Cunha sailed along the West Coast, studying the country in all its details, and making with his own hand the chart of his discoveries. The father, more fortunate than the son, lives in song, and to him has been assigned, by

some historians, the glory of having discovered the island:—

"Tristaõ Da Cunha que foy o primeiro que alli invernara." *

Camöens speaks thus of his illustrious countryman:—

Mas oh que luz tamamba, que abrir Sinto,
Dizia a Nympha, e a voz alevantáva,
Lá no mar de Melinde em sangue tinto
Das Cidades de Lamo, de Oja, e Brava,
Pelo CUNHA tambem, que nunca extinto
Será seu nome em todo o mar que lava
As Ilhas do Austro, e praias, que se chamam
De Saõ Lourenço, e em todo o Sul se affam! †

"But lo, resplendent shines another star,"
Loud she resounds, "in all the blaze of war!
Great CUNIA guards Melinda's friendly shore,
And dyes her seas with Oja's hostile gore.
Lamo and Brava's towers his vengeance tell:
Green Madagascar's flowery dale shall swell
His echoed fame, till ocean's southmost bound
Our isles and shores unknown his name resound!" ‡

The Portuguese sailed round Madagascar in 1508, and constantly anchored at the island in their voyages to the East Indies.

A.D. 1508.

In consequence of the marvellous accounts brought home to Lisbon by these celebrated navigators, Emmanuel, King of Portugal, in 1509, sent Diego Lopez de Siquera

A.D. 1509.

* Tratado dos Descobrimentos Antigos e Modernos Composto pel o famoso Antonio Galvaõ, p. 40. Lisboa, 1561, in 4to.

† Lusiad, Canto X., s. xxxix.

‡ Mickle's Translation of the Lusiad.

on a voyage to the island, in order to make definite inquiries relative to the accounts which had reached him about Madagascar, and to search particularly for mines of silver, which were said to be numerous.

A.D. 1510. The following year the King of Portugal despatched another expedition, under the command of Juan Serrano, who was instructed to make himself well acquainted with the island, its productions, and capabilities for commerce, and to establish a trading station there. This good beginning ended in results neither beneficial to themselves nor to the natives; and, in fact, the operations of the Portuguese in Madagascar at that time appear to have been confined to the purchase of a few slaves from the Arabs already located there.

A.D. 1548. About 1548 the Portuguese formed an establishment at L'Anse aux Gallions, which was the first European settlement on the Island of Madagascar. They were under the orders of a Portuguese governor, to whom the natives gave the title of "Macinorbé," doubtless a corruption of Monseignor-Be, compounded of the Portuguese *Monseignor*, Lord, and the Malagash *Bé*, Great, meaning Great Lord.

Macinorbé landed on L'Anse aux Gallions with seventy men, evidently with the determination of forming a permanent establishment there. On the Island of Anossi, also called Portuguese Island, on a steep rock

overhanging the bank of the river Franchere, he built a house of stone, the walls of which were standing in Flacourt's time. Here the Portuguese established themselves, and built a fort, situated near the village of Hitore; this fort had many enclosures, within which they raised European vegetables and abundance of stock. When the Governor's residence was completed, the natives in the neighbourhood, under the pretext of celebrating the event, presented the Portuguese with large quantities of "toak," or fermented palm wine and honey, assisting at the rejoicings with their presence. In the middle of the feast, Macinorbé and his companions, with the exception of five, were massacred. The survivors, with about thirty of their slaves, succeeded in shutting themselves up in the citadel, where they defended themselves, and afterwards led a life of desultory warfare with the natives, until they were enabled to make their escape on board of a vessel belonging to their own nation. The Portuguese continued to frequent the island for a short time afterwards for the purposes of commerce, but they did not form any permanent establishments there.

During the temporary occupation of a portion of the coast of this island by the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch, disputing with each other for the possession of India, appeared to have overlooked the fortunate discovery of Fernan Suarez.

A.D. 1644. Nevertheless, in the reign of Charles I., the Government of England seriously contemplated taking possession of Madagascar. A colony was

formed in St. Augustine Bay, which promised to be very successful; but being unsupported by the home Government, consequent upon the civil commotions which broke out in England in that reign, and many of the colonists having been carried off by unnecessary exposure to the climate during a very sickly season, the survivors abandoned the settlement.

The foregoing is a brief account of the first appearance of Europeans on the Island of Madagascar.

CHAPTER II.

Cardinal Richelieu — French East India Company — Fort Dauphin — Pronis — Mutiny and Imprisonment of the Governor—Roger Le Bourg restores Pronis to the Government—Origin of the Pirates of Bourbon—Origin of the Maroons of Mauritius—Estienne de Flacourt—Sergeant La Roche — Gallant Encounter — Magnanimity of Malagasy Prince—The elements prevent Flacourt's return to France—Arrival of La Forest des Royers—Martyrdom of Father Etienne — Colony saved by M. Levacher, called by the Malagasy Lacase.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU, who omitted nothing which could contribute to the glory of France, foreseeing the position which the Island of Madagascar must hold, in commanding at some future day the trade between Europe and the East Indies and China, both by way of the Cape of Good Hope and also by the Red Sea, was anxious to give every encouragement to French enterprise in the Eastern Seas. With the view of ultimately obtaining possession of this island for the Crown of France, he granted to Rigault, captain of a French merchant vessel, and his associates, the exclusive privilege of trading from France with Madagascar and the adjoining islands, under the obligation of his taking possession of all places of trade in those seas in the name of the King

A.D. 1642.

of France. This was the origin of the First French East India Company, which at one time bid fair to establish a new empire for France to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, but which, by mismanagement of its funds and opportunities of acquiring territory, came to an end A.D. 1652.

In the month of March, 1642, the French East India Company despatched a vessel to Madagascar, having on board the Sieur de Pronis, and as his lieutenant Foucquembourg, together with twelve Frenchmen. The orders received by Pronis were to search for a place suitable for a colony. Pronis landed at Isle de Mascareigne, since called Bourbon, and subsequently Réunion, and took possession of it in the name of the King of France. Arrived at Madagascar, he pitched upon a village named Manghefia, at the extremity of the Province of Anosy, which, being found unhealthy, was changed for that of the neighbouring Peninsula of Taolanara. To this settlement the name of Fort Dauphin was given, and it became the centre of the ephemeral greatness of France in Madagascar. The fort stands in a commanding situation, on the south side of the Bay of Taolanara; it is of an oblong form, and enclosed with strong walls of lime and gravel well cemented. The anchorage in the roadstead is excellent, and the harbour is screened, by the Isle of St. Clair, from the heavy sea gales, so that the entrance is convenient at all times for large ships.*

Pronis, the pioneer of French enterprise in those

* "History of Madagascar," Rev. Wm. Ellis, Vol. II., p. 9.

seas, is accused of great mismanagement; so much so, that the colony was frequently reduced to subsist upon rice, there being an entire absence of beef; and, when the latter commodity was in abundance, there was a scarcity of rice.

On religious matters there was a difference between the Governor and the colonists; Pronis being a Huguenot, and his subordinates fervent Catholics. He had married a daughter of one of the petty Chiefs of Madagascar, and complaints were made that he expended upon her and her family resources which were intended for the colony alone. All these causes of complaint, combined with the climate and the difficulties always to be met with by new colonists, caused dissatisfaction among the small community, which, on its being augmented by the arrival of another vessel with ninety immigrants from France, broke out into open mutiny, and ended in the feeble Pronis, whose second, Foucquembourg, had returned to France, being not only deprived of all power, but placed in irons, until the arrival of another vessel from France, with forty-three men for the colony, under the command of Roger Le Bourg, restored to him the government of the colony.

Pronis, with the assistance of Roger Le Bourg, seized twelve of the principal of those who had kept him in prison; and, having shaved their heads, he banished them, with some females of the island as their companions, to the neighbouring Island of Bourbon. These Frenchmen, and their descendants

Pirates of Bourbon—their Origin.

by the Malagasy women, became the pirates who for so many years infested those seas, and made Bourbon, Seychelles, and the neighbouring Archipelago of the Amirantes their head-quarters.

Maroons of Mauritius—their Origin.

The Dutch Governor of Mauritius having about this time made his appearance at Fort Dauphin for the purpose of obtaining slaves from Madagascar, Pronis and Roger Le Bourg were easily induced to assist him. The victims necessary to supply the wants of the Governor of Mauritius were obtained by the foulest treachery. Natives who had come voluntarily to serve the French at Fort Dauphin, and others who brought the commodities of the country for sale, were seized, and sold by Pronis to the Governor of Mauritius, who conveyed them to that island. Numbers of these captives died; the survivors, free as the birds of their native forests from their childhood, fled from slavery to the mountains of Mauritius, where they maintained their freedom, made it impossible for the Dutch to live on the island, and afterwards became to the French, and also to the English, so troublesome under the name of Maroons.

From this act, which some may deem only imprudent, but the better part of mankind will look upon as infamous, arose that undying spirit of hatred which the Madagascar people have since manifested to the French.

Pronis was opposed by the colonists, and harassed

by the natives of Madagascar, from the moment that he became a slave-dealer, until he was relieved by the Company sending out a successor to him in 1648.

A.D. 1648. Estienne de Flacourt, one of the Directors of the First French East India Company, was the successor of Pronis; and, had he been supported by the Company with the assistance and succour which he had been promised, he might have established himself permanently at Fort Dauphin.

Opposed from the first by the natives, who, since the seizure of their countrymen as slaves for Mauritius, had been hostile to the French, his government presents one continued war with the natives, who, under many pretexts, endeavoured to mislead him as to their feelings to his government; ever with the intention of being faithful to avenge the infamous outrage of Pronis on their countrymen.

For seven years he, unaided by France, maintained his position at Fort Dauphin, explored the country in various directions, endeavoured to conciliate the natives, and forced the colonists to respect, in him, the representative of the King of France.

It was in his time that the people of Madagascar learned to appreciate the courage of his countrymen, from the heroism displayed by a small party which he had sent on an exploring expedition into the island. This party consisted of a sergeant named La Roche, twelve soldiers, ten negroes, and one negro woman. On their return to the coast they fell in with an army,

consisting of 6,000 of the Malagasy people, armed with darts and assagayes, who endeavoured to surround, while terrifying them with detailing the thousand injuries they were about to redress by massacring the small French party which had fallen into their hands. The devoted French replied to the barbarian songs of the natives by falling upon their knees and invoking the power of Heaven. In a loud voice they sang "Veni, Creator Spiritus;" the negroes of their party followed their example by falling upon their knees. The song of holy confidence finished, they mutually exchanged pardon for trespasses committed against each other, and then, inspiring one another with courage for the encounter, they began the work of death by firing upon those of their opponents who, in advance of the others, were most impatient to shed their blood. They used their arms with such skill, that every discharge brought down some of their foes. Their negroes, inspired by their noble example, assisted them as well as they were able by throwing stones at their enemies, and in returning the darts that were flung at them; even the negress joined in this, for in such an unequal combat all aid was valued.

Thus nobly fighting, they, for the space of five hours, skilfully retreated from the hosts opposed to them, until they obtained possession of a small hill; and, night coming on, the unequal combat ceased with the loss of only one of their number, Nicolas

de Bonnes. One other of this heroic party was severely injured, but nevertheless he continued the combat.

Prince Dian Iseronah, commanding the Malagasies opposed to them, struck with admiration at the gallant retreat of this band of heroes, ordered the combat to cease, and sent one of his officers to them with a large basin of cooked rice, saying that, after their arduous exertions, they must needs require food. This offer was courteously accepted by the French; but they very properly were on their guard all night, and it was not until break of day that they entered into a conference with the natives, and this only to inform them that they were determined to fight to the last, and sell their lives dearly, and that the bullets from their muskets awaited those who rashly approached them. The Malagasy Prince ordered his army to retire, and, after complimenting his foes on their bravery, he bade the French to go in safety. Notwithstanding, 400 of the natives followed them to Fort Dauphin, and caused the intrepid French band some trouble on their march; but their efforts were futile, for the eleven survivors, accompanied by their negroes, reached the fort in safety, and, amidst the congratulations of their companions and the rejoicings consequent on their safety, soon forgot the dangers which they had passed and their wonderful escape.

Flacourt was a man full of energy and full of resources; surrounded by difficulties, he made head

against all obstacles, and only failed in making the French settlement at Fort Dauphin a successful colony in consequence of the culpable neglect of the Directors of the First East India Company in France.

In 1653, having in vain looked for assistance from France, he determined, as the only mode of saving the colony, to return to Europe, and, with this intention, he left Fort Dauphin in a small vessel, which, being unable to make any way against the contrary winds then blowing, and the consequent heavy seas between Madagascar and the Cape of Good Hope, he was obliged to put back after being at sea for twenty days.

On his return to Fort Dauphin, he with difficulty restored his authority there, and overcame, as he had already done, a host of difficulties.

In 1654 two vessels belonging to the Maréchal Duc de la Meelleraye, Governor of Nantes, and commanded by La Forest des Royers, called at Fort Dauphin with intelligence, but no aid, from France. The East India Company's period of concession, ten years, having expired, and not having been renewed, the Company was, of course, at an end at least two years before this date, and the Directors had not even given notice of this circumstance to their agent at Fort Dauphin.

A.D. 1654.

The famous Foucquet, at that time *Procureur-Général au Parlement de Paris, Surintendant des Finances*, and one of those most interested in the French East

India Company, on whose nomination Flacourt had been sent out to the difficult position of agent in Madagascar, sent him letters by the vessels before mentioned, recommending him two priests, who were anxious to work in Madagascar for the benefit of France and the conversion of the natives to the Catholic religion; but not one word about the Company, nor any instructions for his guidance.

Le Sieur de Pronis, being on board one of these vessels in the capacity of an officer, was offered the government of Fort Dauphin, which he accepted. This appointment of the unfortunate Pronis again to the government of Fort Dauphin led to the most disastrous results, which were expedited by the impolitic conduct of Father Etienne, who fell a martyr to his inconsiderate endeavours to evangelise the natives.

In the midst of all these reverses the colony was able to maintain its position by the exertions of M. Levacher, who, by his spirit of conciliation and prudence, was enabled to do much with the Malagasy people, with whom he had connected himself by marriage. The Madagascar people, ever grateful, even to this day transmit the memory of his good deeds in many a tradition, in which he is named Lacase.

CHAPTER III.

La Companie Orientale—Jean Baptiste Colbert—Inland Water Communication uniting the Mediterranean and the Atlantic—M. de Beausse carries out the Great Seal of France—Lacase made Major of the Island—The Company ceded to the King—Delahaie retires to Surat—Destruction of Champmargou and Lacase—M. de la Bretasche, son-in-law of Lacase, retires from the Island—Massacre of the French at Midnight Mass—Isle St. Mary ceded to the French—M. de Maudave—Measures of Conciliation—Abandoned by the French Government, he quits the Colony.

In 1664, a Second French East India Company was formed under the auspices of Colbert, called *La Companie Orientale*, which obtained all the concessions made to its predecessor in 1642.

A.D. 1664.

The founder of this Company, Jean Baptiste Colbert, was at that time at the head of the Financial Department of France, to which he had been called by Louis XIV. at the express wish of Cardinal Mazarin, who, finding his end approaching, earnestly recommended the King to appoint Colbert Intendant of the Finances.

France is indebted to Colbert for establishing her trade with the East and West Indies, and for all the advantages which she has derived from that inland

water communication uniting the Mediterranean and the Atlantic; a prodigious work, begun in 1666 and finished in 1680. To Colbert France also owes the erection of the Academy of Sciences in 1667, and also that of the Royal Observatory of Paris, first inhabited by Cassini.

Fort Dauphin was to be the seat of government in Madagascar of the Company formed under such auspices, and the name of that island was changed to that of Eastern France.

M. de Beausse was sent out there in 1665, as Governor-General, and carried out with him the Great Seal of the King of France. This Seal represented the King in his royal robes, the crown on his head, the sceptre in one hand, and the hand of Justice in the other; around the seal was the following inscription:—

"Ludovici XIV. Franciæ et Navarræ Regis Sigillum, adusum Supremi Consilii Galliæ Orientalis."

In 1669 M. le Comte de Mondevergue arrived at Fort Dauphin as Governor-General, or Viceroy of Eastern France (Madagascar) and its dependencies, being Bourbon and the Isle of France. He brought with him six vessels, one of which carried 36 guns; two Directors of the Company; a Procureur-General; four companies of infantry; ten chiefs of colonization; eight merchants; and thirty-two men.

A.D. 1669.

Levacher, known to the natives as Lacase, always anxious to assist his countrymen, established friendly relations between this force and the natives, and, for the first time since the arrival of the French in Madagascar, peace reigned. Lacase was rewarded with the title of Major of the Island.

But the Royal Company, with immense capital at its command, mismanaged its finances, like its predecessor, and prosperity was again put a stop to by sending out a new Governor-General in 1670.

A.D. 1670. The finances of the Company were in such an unpromising state, that in 1670 the rights of the Company were ceded to the King, and the Company formed by Colbert, like its predecessor, ceased to exist.

The new Governor-General, Delahaie, appointed Champmargou, a former Governor, as second under his orders; and, although Lacase held his appointment as Major of the Island, still the advice of this true friend to France and Madagascar was not followed, which ended in Delahaie retiring ignominiously from Fort Dauphin, and passing with his troops to Surat.

Champmargou and the noble Lacase, deserted by Delahaie, fell into the hands of the vengeful natives, and perished one after the other.

M. de la Bretasche, son-in-law of Lacase, despairing of maintaining his position any longer, with the remains of the colony enfeebled by daily encounters with the natives, availed himself of the presence of

a vessel for Surat which had called there on her way from France. With his family and a few friends he embarked, and, when about to depart, the attention of those on board the vessel was attracted by signals of distress from the shore. The long-boat was immediately placed in the water, and reached the shore in time to save a few who had escaped being massacred by the natives.

It appears that the French were surprised in their church, outside of the walls of the fort, and there, while performing midnight mass, they were nearly all massacred, a catastrophe which was the effect of the hostility of the native priests, or idol-keepers, engendered by the inconsiderate zeal of Father Etienne, which had already cost him his life, and ended in this tragedy, A.D. 1672.

After this signal failure of the two Companies formed by France for the possession of Madagascar, it will not be surprising to hear that for a long time the Government of France did not look favourably on any project for attaining an object which Richelieu had pointed out as the means of commanding the Indian Ocean and the trade of the East; and for which Colbert, with his accustomed sagacity and resources, it is stated, had been able to raise fifteen millions sterling to carry out, and afterwards to support with a subsidy of ten millions.

Nearly a hundred years elapsed after the sad catastrophe at Fort Dauphin before France was again induced to make an attempt on the possession of this Queen of the Indian Ocean.

In 1746 we find that the Great Mahé de la Bourdonnais visited Madagascar; and that, subsequent to that visit—viz., in 1750—the Island of St. Mary, on the East Coast of Madagascar, which was always looked upon by the French East India Company with the desire of acquisition, was ceded to Louis XV. and the French Company of the Indies; but this cession led to no important results.

Perhaps in no part of the world has France, notorious for her failures in colonising, met with such reverses as in her endeavours to establish a colony in Madagascar. Already we have seen arms, money, and priests fail in making a permanent impression on the natives of this island. War they have ever met with defiance and incendiarism; three times since the landing of Pronis in 1642 was Fort Dauphin reduced to ashes, and as often rebuilt. Treachery on the part of the French begot the undying hate which the Madagascar people bear them to this day; and dearly has France paid in her own blood for the negroes reduced to slavery by the infamous conduct of Pronis.

In 1768 a distinguished officer, M. de Maudave, was sent to take command of Fort Dauphin by the Ministry of the Duc de Praslin. All other measures having failed, those of conciliation, which should have been used from the first, were now adopted. His instructions were to renew, and constantly to maintain, the most friendly relations with the natives; to hold a fort in their territory with their tacit

consent; and, on no account, to risk hostilities with them.

This rational mode of gaining a footing in the country was carried out in a most praiseworthy manner by M. de Maudave, and so convinced was he of ultimate success, that he proposed to the Government of France a feasible means of strengthening his position by entering into agricultural pursuits; and, for this purpose, obtained from the natives the cession of a portion of the coast, about nine or ten leagues in length, which was situated on the banks of the river Fanzahère. Here he endeavoured to form a settlement; but, unsupported by France, without any means, and entirely neglected by the Government, he was forced to abandon his project, and quitted the colony in 1769.

France, engaged in the American War of Independence, found but little leisure to embark in either commercial or military operations in Madagascar.

CHAPTER IV.

The French Government authorise Benyowski to form a Settlement in Antongil Bay — Autobiography of Count Mauritius Augustus de Benyowski — Banished to Kamschatka—The Russian Governor—Aphanasia Nilow—Conspiracy to seize the Government of the Colony and escape to the Marian Islands—The Red Ribbon—Corporal, with four Grenadiers, are seized—Panic of the Garrison—Splitting the Governor's Skull—Embassy of a Woman and Drummer to the Cossacks—The Archbishop preaches in favour of Revolution—Seizure of the Coryette—Escape of Benyowski—Arrival in France—Appointed to the Government of the French Settlements in Madagascar—Jealousy of the French Officials at the Isle of France — Arrival at Antongil Bay — Success with the Natives—Turpitude of M. Poivre, Governor of the Isle of France—Benyowski is elected King of Madagascar—Account of the Ceremony—Proceeds to Europe and America—Benjamin Franklin—Benyowski returns to Madagascar—Invasion of the French—Death of Benyowski.

MADAGASCAR UNDER BENYOWSKI.

A.D. 1773 TO A.D. 1786.

A.D. 1773.

In 1773, Maurice de Benyowski received from the French Government authority to establish a settlement in Antongil Bay. During his government the French establishments on the East Coast of Madagascar assumed a strength and appearance of permanency which, at one time, almost realised the dream of Richelieu, and gave

to France not only possession of the Queen of the Indian Ocean, but also, by its resources for ship-building and provisioning the neighbouring colonies of Bourbon and Mauritius, enabled France to dispute the Empire of the East.

To understand the benefits conferred on Madagascar by Benyowski, it will be necessary somewhat to enter into the career of this wonderful man; we therefore subjoin the following account of him, which has been derived principally from his Autobiography.

Count Mauritius Augustus de Benyowski, one of the magnates of the Kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, was born in the year 1741, at Verbona, the hereditary lordship of his family, situated in Nittria, in Hungary. In early life the Count had taken an active part in the political affairs of his own country, and, falling under the displeasure of the Russian Government, was banished to Kamschatka, where he arrived on the 3rd of December, 1770, being then twenty-nine years of age. The pains and perils to which the Count and his companions in exile were subjected, were borne for some time in murmuring sufferance, until the accidental discovery of an old copy of Anson's Voyages inspired them with an idea of making their escape from Kamschatka to the Marian Islands. The Count and some of his companions formed a confederacy for this purpose. While these transactions were secretly passing, the fame and abilities of Count Benyowski reached the ears of the Russian Governor, M. Nilow; and, as

he spoke several languages, he was admitted familiarly into the house, and eventually appointed to superintend the education of the son and three daughters of the Governor. "One day," says the Count in his Memoirs, "while I was exercising my office of master of languages, the youngest of the three daughters, named Aphanasia, who was sixteen years of age, proposed many questions concerning my thoughts in my present situation, which convinced me that her father had given them some information concerning my birth and misfortunes. I therefore gave them an account of my adventures, at which my scholars appeared to be highly affected; but the youngest wept very much. She was a beautiful girl, and her sensibility created much emotion in my mind; but, alas! I was in exile." Need we say that the Count soon converted the feelings of admiration into the flame of love, and obtained in Aphanasia Nilow an able and willing assistant in his endeavours to escape from Kamschatka. "On the 23rd of April, 1771, however, Miss Aphanasia," says the Count, "came to me incognito. She informed me that her mother was in tears, and her father talked with her in a manner which gave reason to fear that he suspected our plot. She conjured me to be careful, and not to come to the fort if sent for. She expressed her fear that it would not be in her power to come to me again; but promised she would, in that case, send her servant. She entreated me, at all events, that if I should be compelled to use

force against the Government, I would be careful of the life of her father, and not endanger my own. I tenderly embraced this charming young lady, and thanked her for the interest she took in my preservation; and, as it appeared important that her absence should not be discovered, I begged her to return, and recommend the issue of our intentions to good fortune. Before her departure, I reminded her to look minutely after her father, and to send me a red ribbon in case Government should determine to arrest me; and, in the second place, that at the moment of alarm, she would open the shutter of her window, which looked to the garden, and cause a sledge to be laid over the ditch on that side. She promised to comply with my instructions, and confirmed her promises with vows and tears." The apprehensions of the faithful Aphanasia for the man she loved were soon confirmed; for, on the 26th of April, she sent him two red ribbons, to signify the double danger to which he was exposed. Benyowski, with his accustomed coolness, prepared to brave the impending storm, and gave orders to the leaders of his associates to prepare for the attack. At five o'clock in the evening a corporal with four grenadiers stopped at the door of the Count's house, demanding admittance in the name of the Empress, and ordered him to follow the guard to the fort. Benyowski, however, proposed from a window to the corporal that he should enter alone and drink a glass of wine; and, on his being admitted, the

door was immediately shut upon him, four pistols clapped to his breast, by the terror of which he was made to disclose everything that was transacting at the fort, and obliged to call the four grenadiers separately into the house, under the pretence of drinking, when they were all five bound together and deposited safely in the cellar. The Count, accompanied by his associates, issued from the house to oppose another detachment which had been despatched to arrest him. Some of the soldiers fell; and the Count, seizing the moment of panic, obtained possession of their cannon, turned them with success against the fort itself, and entering by means of the drawbridge, despatched the small force remaining in it. "Madame Nilow and her children," says the Count, "at sight of me, implored my protection to save their father and husband. I immediately hastened to his apartment, and begged him to go to his children's room to preserve his life; but he answered that he would first take mine, and instantly fired a pistol, which wounded me. I was desirous, nevertheless, of preserving him, and continued to represent that all resistance would be useless, for which reason I entreated him to retire. His wife and children threw themselves on their knees, but nothing would avail; he flew upon me, seized me by the throat, and left me no other alternative than either to give up my own life, or run my sword through his body. At this period, the petard, by which my associates attempted to make a breach, exploded, and burst

the outer gate. The second was open, and I saw M. Penon enter at the head of a party. He entreated the Governor to let me go, but not being able to prevail on him, he let me at liberty by splitting his skull." Benyowski, by this event, became complete master of the fort, and repelled the attack made upon it by the Cossacks; but flight, not resistance, being their ultimate object, he despatched a drummer and a woman, as a sign of parley, to the Cossacks, informing them of his resolution to send a detachment of his associates into the church, and there to burn them, unless they immediately laid down their arms. This threat had the desired effect, and the Count not only received into the fort some of the principal inhabitants of the town as hostages, but also prevailed on the Archbishop to preach a sermon in the church in favour of the revolution. The Count was now complete master of Kamschatka; and, having time to prepare everything necessary for the intended departure, he ransacked the archives of the town, where he found several manuscripts of voyages, near to the eastward of Kamschatka, and a description of the Kurelles and Aleuthes Islands. This chart has not survived the fate of its composer.

The conspirators, previous to this *coup d'état*, had secured a corvette of the name of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was lying in the port of Botsha, and their success enabled them to provide her with such stores as were necessary for their intended

voyage. On the 11th of May, 1771, Count Benyowski, with a crew of seventy-five men, together with twelve passengers and nine women, went on board the corvette; next day they weighed anchor, and sailed out of the harbour of Botsha on a voyage to China. Benyowski was accompanied by the lovely Aphanasia, disguised in sailor's apparel. He visited Japan, Formosa, and Macoa, enduring many hardships, and meeting with numerous adventures; at last he sold his ship at Canton, and embarking himself and his crew on board two French vessels, arrived at the Isle of France in the year 1772.

Here he intimated the probability of his applying to the French Government to establish a colony in Madagascar. The French authorities at that time appeared to treat his design with contempt, if not with ridicule; and a letter was written by the Intendant to the French Minister of Marine, greatly to his prejudice. He arrived on the 8th of August, 1772, in Champagne, where the Duc d'Aguillon, the Minister of France, then was, and "he received me," says the Count, "with cordiality and distinction. He proposed to me to enter the service of his master, with the offer of a regiment of infantry, which I accepted, on condition that his Majesty would be pleased to employ me in forming establishments beyond the Cape of Good Hope."

In consequence of this condition, the Duke, his patron, informed him of the intention of the French Government to make another attempt to establish

a colony at Madagascar—this time for the purpose of trade rather than conquest—and invited him to draw up his own plan for the settlement, which was approved of by the King and his Ministers.

Count Benyowski was appointed to take charge of the expedition, with the title of Governor-General; and M. Boynes, the French Minister, in his instructions to the Governor and Commissary at the Isle of France, says, "No person has appeared more capable of carrying his Majesty's intentions into effect than M. le Baron Benyowski. In the course of his travels by sea, he has learned the manner of treating savage people; and to a great share of firmness he has united that mildness of character which suits a design of this nature."

Such was the career of Benyowski previous to his being appointed to the government of the settlements at Madagascar. Unfortunately for his ultimate success, the authorities at the Isle of France were directed to supply him with the stores necessary for the new colony.

The Governor of that island was already much prejudiced against him, and had written to the Government of the King much to his disparagement. The Abbé Rochon, who was at the Isle of France when Benyowski called for the supplies and stores ordered to be provided for the new colony, thus quotes the words of M. Poivre, the Governor:—

"We have seen," said M. Poivre, in conversing with the Abbé, at that time, "swarms of locusts de-

vouring in an instant an abundant harvest; we have seen two terrible hurricanes threaten this island with total destruction; but Madagascar always served to compensate the mischief done by those awful scourges. Henceforth the Isle of France has lost all its resources; it must fall and perish, if similar scourges should again happen to spread desolation over these fields. Under the Government of Benyowski, Madagascar will no longer be able to support this settlement; in our future misfortunes we must only hope for distant and precarious relief. I was much habituated to the success of cheats and adventurers; but the success of Benyowski overwhelms me with confusion—the more so as I have written a letter on his account to the Minister. I well knew that oddities are pleasing, that they amuse the multitude, and raise their credulity to the highest pitch of success; but how could I imagine that a stranger just broken loose from chains and prisons at Kamschatka, and sunk into contempt by his own writings, should obtain such an important charge without my approbation? Strongly attached, in virtue of my office, to the welfare of this colony, I ought, the first time he spoke to me about Madagascar, to have excited in him a desire of dethroning the Mogul. This request could surely have been complied with, and we would have got rid of him."

Such being the sentiments of M. Poivre towards the Count, we are not surprised to learn that he

did all in his power to oppose Benyowski at the Isle of France—not only during the short stay that the Count made at that island, but afterwards, in sending him only what the Council forced him to give, in the way of stores and men, for the support of the settlement of Madagascar. Benyowski arrived at Madagascar on the 14th February, 1774, and having anchored in the Bay of Antongil, he disembarked, and formed his settlement on the banks of the river Tingbale, which discharges itself into that bay.

On the 1st of March, 1774, the natives agreed in grand Kabar, to allow him to establish in the inland part of the country, near the source of the river Tingbale, hospitals and houses upon a proper spot of ground; and, to quote his own words, "With respect to the land I required up the country, they said they would consider of it; but that they required an oath, by which I should acknowledge that I had no right over them, and would confine myself to the simple title of their friend, in which quality I should assist them against their enemies." *

A.D. 1774.

Having thus established a friendly footing in the country, he immediately endeavoured to make himself acquainted with its resources and capabilities for trade. He says: "On the 23rd of March, judging myself acquainted with the interior part of the country, where, from the account of the islanders, there were

* "Memoirs of Benyowski," Vol. II., p. 118.

very fine plains, and rivers favourable to communication, I sent the Sieur Saunier, lieutenant of a frigate, up the river Tingbale to make inquiries. He returned from this exploration on the 26th; and informed me that the river was navigable for about three leagues from its mouth, and ran to the North-West into the country; that, before it arrives at its source, it is divided into two branches, each navigable for about ten leagues. He added that this river was bordered with very fine plains in good cultivation, and mountains covered with the most beautiful timber, which might be easily, and at a little expense, brought down to the settlement by water. I was greatly pleased with this discovery, as I already knew that the rivers opened three very advantageous places of trade—one to the West of the Island of Bembatok, the other to the North of Cape Ambre, and the third to the East of Angotzi, of which all the rivers of communication discharge themselves into that of Tingbale." Benyowski next endeavoured to open relations with the West part of the island, more especially with Bembatok, which is extremely abundant in cotton and cattle.

On the 5th of August, 1774, the Sackalaves sent deputies to request the establishment of a trade among them, but refused permission to build fortresses. "This request of theirs being contrary to my views, I refused to comply with it."

In the short space of a few months, besides discovering immense quantities of timber for ship-build-

ing and domestic purposes, he states that sugar, cotton, indigo, coffee, tobacco, and other productions, were found in abundance.*

Some idea of the energy of this wonderful man may be formed from the fact that he induced the natives to make roads for the purpose of communication between the different French settlements about the coast; one of these roads measured one hundred and eighty miles in length. Canals were also made by him, which doubtless set the example for Radama, in after years, to cut canals between the lakes bordering on the East Coast. Referring to one of these great public works, Benyowski says, "The time between the 3rd and the 6th was employed in digging a canal of communication between the river and the harbour. This was perfected in four days, though it was fifteen hundred toises in length; but as I employed for this purpose nearly six thousand natives of the country, the whole was performed with the greatest ease."† But while employed on these works, for the purpose of keeping up a communication between those places which he had already acquired, he was indefatigable in obtaining new possessions in a peaceable manner; and, as soon as he had succeeded in adding any valuable locality to his settlement, he wisely built a fort, to be the centre of commercial operations, and, at the same time, to preserve the authority which he had established. Quoting from

* "Memoirs of Benyowski," Vol. II., p. 157.

† Idem, p. 163.

his Memoirs, he says, in reference to a newly-acquired territory, "The plain of Mahertomp is the richest part of the whole Province of Antimaroa, occupying a space of six leagues along the banks of the river Tingbale, and more than thirteen in depth, perfectly well cultivated and inhabited throughout. I judged it proper to establish a fort to preserve it, and secure a communication between the chief settlement and the Plain of Health." *

Again, "From the 6th to 7th of September, I made an excursion, to visit the district which had been surrendered to the Sombariaves, on the banks of the river Tingbale. The lands were excellent, but the territory annexed to the establishment by the late conquest was greatly superior. What immense riches might be derived from a district of land twenty-two leagues in length upon the coast of a navigable river!"† He had ceded to him Nossi-bé, an island on the N.W. of Madagascar, having a commanding position off the coast, of which the French Government took formal possession as late as 1840. In speaking of this expedition, Benyowski says, "On the 14th I received a courier from the Sieur Maguer, interpreter, and M. Corbe, officer of my corps—the latter of whom I had sent in boats round the northern part of the island, while the former went by land along the shore, in order to examine all the bays, harbours, and rivers, the inhabitants, their numbers, forces, industry, pro-

* "Memoirs of Benyowski," Vol. II., p. 187.

† Idem, p. 197.

ductions, and mutual interests. I ordered them to continue their journey until they arrived at the territory of Lamboin, a chief who assumed the title of King of the North. My intention was to engage this chief in our interests, and to purchase of him the Island of Nossi-bé, situated to the N.W. of Madagascar, in lat. 13 deg. 15 min. South, and long. 45 deg. 6 min. from Paris. These two officers sent me journals of the coast. They informed me that they had joined company in the territories of the chief Lamboin, by whom they were amicably received; that this chief, being astonished at the renown of the white man, had determined before their arrival to send ambassadors to me, to form a treaty with the establishment; and that, profiting by this good disposition, they had caused him to enter into an oath of friendship; that they had purchased the Island of Nossi-bé of him; and that, having in this manner obtained the purposes of their mission, they only waited for my orders to return." In the midst of these successes, the natural consequences of the energy and tact displayed by this great colonial chief, the envy and malevolence of M. Poivre, the Governor of the Isle of France, followed Benyowski to Madagascar. This base man, traitor to his King and country, in hopes of destroying a man of whom he was envious, pursued such a system of opposition to all Benyowski's efforts for the entire subjugation of the Island of Madagascar to the Crown of France, that in the end Benyowski was obliged to leave the island, and lay his complaints before the Government and

the King, which, not meeting with that just consideration which his exertions had merited, ended in his offering his services for the subjugation of Madagascar to England, and afterwards to America, and finally put an end to the pretensions of France over this magnificent island.

But we must not anticipate. Stores, money, and troops were refused by M. Poivre to Benyowski, and the most abandoned officers were sent to serve under him in Madagascar. Some of them being paid emissaries of the Governor of the Isle of France, were instructed to inform the native chiefs that no assistance would be sent to the Count, and to use their endeavours to induce the natives to resist his authority, for which purpose the public funds and stores were recklessly and openly squandered. Abandoned by France, opposed by some of the natives, whom the treachery of his subordinates had induced to rise against him, embarrassed by the absence of means to supply his wants, we find his energy always equal to the emergency. On one of these occasions, describing his position, he says, "Activity and resolution were never more necessary. I collected a number of the native women, whom I employed in making cloth, and ten volunteers were selected to perform the occupation of tailors in clothing my poor fellows. I succeeded in tanning skins, and being provided with shoemakers, the prospect of again possessing shoes began to be more cheering than before."*

* "Memoirs of Benyowski," p. 20, Nov. 11, 1775.

His regrets at the treatment received from the Governor of the Isle of France; and the continued silence to his representations of the Government of the King, may be summed up in his own words: "It was a very unhappy circumstance that I was without forces. The smallest augmentation would have been sufficient to have enabled me to have effected whatever revolutions I thought proper; but having no more than one hundred men, and those exhausted by fatigue, I was not able to guard one hundred and eighty leagues of coast, which was the space contained by our different settlements."* For nearly three years, Benyowski had maintained his position on the Island of Madagascar with more or less success, gradually increasing his possession of the island, when an event occurred, which gave him such a command over the affections of the natives, that they eventually elected him King of the island. It appears that since the commencement of the year 1775, an old Malagasy woman, named Susannah, whom Benyowski had brought from the Isle of France, where she had been sold into slavery at the same time as the daughter of Ramini, the last supreme chief of the province of Manaher, had spread a report among the Malagasy people that she recognised in Benyowski the descendant of that Princess, and consequently that he was the inheritor of the title and position of the Ampandzaka-bé, the supreme sovereign power, which had become extinct by the death of Ramini.

* "Memoirs of Benyowski," p. 215.

The words of the old Malagasy woman had produced quite a revolution among the chiefs of the surrounding districts. After frequent consultations, they came to the resolution to await a favourable opportunity for declaring their intentions regarding Benyowski, and in him honouring the royal blood of Ramini. At this time an old man of Manahar, said to be inspired, predicted that great changes in the government of the island were soon to take place, and that the descendant of their lawful king, Ramini, would then be known. A superstitious people required no further inducement than these assertions to be worked up to an uncontrollable state of excitement. In a grand Kabar, the chiefs and people elected Benyowski to be their Ampandzaka-bé, which he accepted. The following is an account of the ceremony observed on the occasion:—

On the 12th of October, the Count Benyowski was awakened by the discharge of cannon, and the chief Rafangaro, with six others, dressed in white, came to his tent, whence they conducted him to a plain on which the natives, to the number of fifty thousand, were assembled. These had formed themselves into an immense circle, each nation being separate, with its chief attached to it, and the women on the outside of the circle. As soon as the Count appeared, the chiefs formed a smaller circle around him, in the centre of the assembly, and silence being proclaimed, the chief Rafangaro delivered an address, containing not only an announcement of the rights and privileges upon

which the new prince was about to enter, but a general welcome back to the bosom of his native country, and the hearts of his expectant people.

Having furnished this account, he put an assagay into the hand of the Count, and prostrated himself at his feet. All the chiefs followed his example, and the entire multitude; so that the new monarch saw, with feelings it would be difficult to define, fifty thousand people prostrate before him. The form of acknowledging this new honour was then dictated to him by Rafangaro, during which the people, who were still prostrate, gave a shout as each clan was named, and at last rose. The several clans then separated from each other, and forming a circle, stood apart, when the Count was led forth to the Rhoandrians, near whom there stood an ox, whose throat he cut, at the same time pronouncing the oath of sacrifice. Every Rhoandrian took a small portion of the blood, which he swallowed, repeating with a loud voice imprecations against himself and his children, in case he or they should break the oath. After passing through the same ceremony with the other tribes, he was again conducted to the circle of the Rhoandrians, to perform the oath of blood. This was done by each person making an incision with a knife under the left breast, and the new prince having done the same, they sucked each others' blood at the same time, pronouncing the most horrible maledictions against whoever should violate his oath, and blessings upon those who should continue faithful to their engagements.

In the evening of the same day, three hundred women came to make an oath to Madame Benyowski. This was performed by moonlight, and was to the effect that they would obey her orders, and appeal to her in all disputes and quarrels in which it was improper for men to interfere.

From this moment Benyowski became supreme chief, or Ampandzaka-bé of the Island of Madagascar. He proposed a form of government and a constitution on a liberal and enlightened basis, well calculated to promote the happiness and to meet the exigencies of a people just emerging from the savage state, which, as soon as fully comprehended by the chiefs, was approved by them in full Kabar.

It was then that Benyowski believed the time had arrived for informing the chief of his councillors and adherents that it would be necessary to conclude a treaty with France, or some other country, in order to insure the exportations of the valuable productions of the island; to carry out this object, it would be necessary for him to leave them for awhile, to visit Europe. Great opposition was offered to this proposition by the aged chiefs, who feared to lose their Ampandzaka-bé, but eventually it was resolved in a long and stormy conference of the chiefs of the island, that the Ampandzaka-bé should repair to Europe, authorised in the name of the whole Madagascar people to enter into a treaty of friendship and commerce with France, or any other nation, on condition that he would take an oath to return to Madagascar, whether successful or not.

On the 10th of December, 1776, Benyowski embarked at Louisbourg, on board the brig La Belle Arthur, which he had chartered for France.

In less than three years from the date of his arrival he had become king of a mighty nation, elected by the suffrages of a free people whom he had taught to love him. How deep were his own emotions on beholding the concourse of people who lined the shores of the bay on his departure, many of whom had come long distances to wish him a prosperous voyage, and pray that the evil genius would not molest him during his absence! The secret of his success was, that he won rather than coerced them into subjection, which may be learnt from the following words in his Memoirs: "It is necessary to treat them with mildness, and to explain to them their true interests. For it is certain that the Madagascar nations can never be subjugated by force, and the work of civilization cannot be accomplished but by a man who, by his conduct, virtue, and justice, shall have acquired the confidence of the chiefs and people." On his arrival in France, Benyowski, in a number of audiences, explained his conduct to the Imperial Government, and received as his recompense from the King of France a sword—a soldier's best reward. In Paris he made the acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin, who soon became his warmest friend.

Benyowski first offered his treaty of friendship from the Madagascar people to France, next to Austria, and then to England. The advantages thus

offered to England being rejected by the Government of that day, who lost the opportunity of acquiring a possession equal in value to India, and not inferior to that of Australia—to the security of both of which it would have most materially tended—Benyowski, by the advice of his ardent admirer, Franklin, visited America, where he so persuaded and interested the young Republic, in describing his successes, his forts, his factories for the protection of commerce, his roads for communication, one being from Antongil to Bembatok, that the Americans, fired with an enthusiasm to aid him in raising the Madagascar nation in the scale of civilization, furnished him with means to carry out his operations. On the 7th of July, 1785, after an absence of more than eight years, he landed on the Island of Nossi-bé, in Passandava Bay. He at once repaired by land to Antongil Bay. His old admirer, the King of the North, and the other chiefs of the island, received him with the greatest enthusiasm, and with an allegiance which convinced him that time cannot efface from the hearts of the Malagasy people the memory of good deeds.

The Ampandzaka-bé immediately fortified the town of Ambodirafia, which he had chosen for his capital, and established forts at Manahar and other towns of the province. In the midst of these occupations, intelligence reached him that an expedition was fitting out, at the Isle of France, to assert the rights of that nation to their possessions in Madagascar.

On the 23rd of May, 1786, a French ship-of-war, despatched by the Governor of the Isle of France, M. Souillac, anchored in Antongil Bay. Sixty men of the Regiment of Pondicherry were disembarked, and arrived, without meeting with any opposition, at the Fort of Mauritiana, where Benyowski had shut himself up, with two Europeans and about thirty of the natives. Soon after the firing commenced the natives fled, and Benyowski and his two brave companions were alone opposed to the sixty Frenchmen. At the moment when Benyowski was about to apply a match to the cannon which commanded the key of his position, he was struck by a musket-ball on the right arm; the enemy advanced and were upon him in an instant. Overpowered by numbers, he fighting fell, and met with the death of the brave.

A.D. 1786.

For three days the corpse of this brave and noble fellow was exposed to the elements, until one of the French officers had him interred, and planted two cocoa-nut trees to mark his resting-place. Those who visit the tomb of Benyowski will recollect that the only heart among his foes that found sympathy for the fallen dead was M. de Lasselle. Some French writers on Madagascar have found ten lines sufficient to contain a notice of Benyowski; more recent ones have endeavoured to do justice to his memory.

CHAPTER V.

French Factories—Isles of France and Bourbon captured by the English—Massacre of the English at Port Loquez—Captain Lesage sent to demand satisfaction — The Hovas — Dianamponine — Radama — Embassy from Mauritius—The Oath of Blood — Sergeant Brady—Jean René — James Hastie—Treaty Abolishing the Slave Trade—Major-General Hall — Dishonourable Conduct — Honourable Conduct of Radama—Return of Sir Robert Farquhar to Mauritius—Mr. Hastie and Radama—Eloquence of Rafarala—Renewal of the Treaty, 11th October, 1820—War with the Sackalaves—Radama lowers the French Flag at Fort Dauphin—French unsuccessful in raising an insurrection in the North-east end of the Island—Death of Mr. Hastie—Death of Radama—Prince Corroller's description of Radama—Lieutenant Boteler, R.N., his description of interview with Radama—Concluding Remarks on Radama.

FROM THE FALL OF BENYOWSKI TO THE DEATH OF RADAMA.

A.D. 1769 TO A.D. 1828.

AFTER the fall of the noble but unfortunate Benyowski, and the abandonment of the different settlements which he had formed, France only held a few ports on the East Coast of Madagascar, for the purposes of commerce, which were under the direction of a commercial agent, and protected by a military detachment furnished by the Isle of France. These factories were kept up for the

purpose of provisioning the Isles of France and Bourbon, and affording supplies to the French squadrons occupying the Indian Ocean. At last, in 1810, they were confined to two—namely, Tamatavé and Foulepoint; and as in that year the Isles of France and Bourbon were taken possession of by the English, the French settlements on the East Coast of Madagascar shared the fate of those islands, and on the 11th of July, 1811, capitulated to an officer of that nation—namely, Captain Linne, commanding his Britannic Majesty's corvette L'Eclipse, M. Silvan Roux having signed the capitulation as the French Agent-General. For a short period the English were located at Port Loquez, but their commander having insulted the natives, by inflicting personal chastisement on one of their chiefs, they were massacred, with the exception of one man, who escaped in a boat. In 1816 Captain Lesage was sent from Mauritius to demand satisfaction for this massacre, and to endeavour to gain over to the cause of England the Sackalaves of the North and the principal chiefs on the East Coast of Madagascar.

A.D. 1811.

For some years previous to the arrival of Captain Lesage great political changes had taken place in Madagascar. In the interior of the island there was a nation, inhabiting the higher plateaux, who, although few in numbers, had been long distinguished for their intelligence and industry; they

were remarkable for their manufacture of the cotton stuffs of the country and their workmanship in iron. This nation, called the Hovas, was broken up into small tribes, each having its own chief, whose petty jealousies made the province of Ankova the theatre of continued wars. The neighbouring nations being more numerous than themselves, their hostilities were seldom carried beyond their own province; but the time at last arrived when one chief among these people, having by his warlike habits and address raised himself to the head of the nation, by the title of King of the Hovas, to maintain his position among them, and, at the same time, indulge the warlike habits of the people, it became necessary to lead them against the neighbouring nations, who were soon overcome. From this moment a thirst of conquest appears to have taken possession of the Hovas, and in the course of time they succeeded in subjecting to their dominion the other nations on this island, from which period the history of those people becomes merged in that of the dominant race who had so successfully imposed their yoke upon them.

Dianamponine was the chief who had succeeded in placing himself at the head of the Hovas, and extending his dominions from the province of Ankova until they included a great part of Antsianaka, Ankova, and all the province of Betsileo. Dying in 1810, at the age of 65, after having reigned a quarter of a century, he left his king-

dom, the capital of which was Antananarivo, to his son Radama. Radama was eighteen years of age when he succeeded his victorious father. Like him, he was intelligent and ambitious; but what particularly distinguished this chief above all his countrymen was his anxiety, from the first, to increase his knowledge by intimate connexion with Europeans. At that time Sir Robert Farquhar was Governor of the Mauritius; and as that island is in a great measure dependent on Madagascar for supplies of cattle and rice, this intelligent Governor was not long in profiting by the friendly disposition of Radama towards Europeans. He induced the King of the Hovas to enter into a treaty of friendship and commerce, and the latter, as a proof of his sincerity and faith in the English, entrusted his two younger brothers—one aged thirteen and the other eleven years—to the English Agent, to be educated at Mauritius, at the expense of the British Government. This mark of confidence encouraged Sir Robert Farquhar to proceed in his good intentions, and he despatched Captain Lesage in the capacity of British Agent-General to Antananarivo, the capital of the Hova King. He was accompanied by an imposing staff, and was the bearer of costly presents to Radama. The British Agent-General being detained for some time at Tamatavé, the seaport of approach to the capital, until permission was accorded to himself and party to proceed to the capital, profited by this delay to

gain over to his interests Jean René, a powerful chief on the coast, who was already justly impressed with the power and influence of the English nation.

On the other hand, Fiche, Chief of Ivandro, in the interests of the French, pushed his feelings of hostility so far as to refuse canoes and provisions to assist the English. Radama received the British Agent in the capital of his kingdom, seated on a throne, surrounded by his ministers and officers, in a large hall decorated with military trophies. When Captain Lesage placed in the hands of the monarch the letter accrediting him from the Governor of Mauritius, he was received by Radama with the natural politeness and dignity which distinguished that prince from all the chiefs of Madagascar. Being the sickly season, many of Captain Lesage's companions fell victims to the climate, and his own health failing, Radama showed him the most kind and assiduous attentions.

A.D. 1817. On the 14th of July, 1817, the British Agent took, with the King of the Hovas, the Oath of Blood, which rendered them from that moment in all things brothers, and on the 14th of February following a secret treaty was executed between them, which was subsequently ratified by the Governor of Mauritius. On the following day Captain Lesage took leave of Radama, leaving behind him two military instructors, for the purpose of teaching the Hovas

European tactics. One of these instructors, Sergeant Brady, became a great favourite with the King, and was, in the course of time, advanced to the rank of a general. Soon after the departure of Captain Lesage for Mauritius, Radama, at the head of 25,000 men, pushed his success into the territories of the Betanimenes, and having overcome them, he dictated terms of subjection to the two powerful chiefs on the East Coast of the island.

The British Agent, Mr. Pye, anxious to favour the views of the King of the Hovas, persuaded Jean René to sign the treaty acknowledging the sovereignty of that prince, and reserving to the chief the title of Governor-General of the Province of Betanimena, by which Radama became possessed of Tamatavé, as a seaport for the capital; and from that moment was invested with and retained the title of King of Madagascar. This was in accordance with the line of policy laid down by Sir Robert Farquhar, who deemed it wiser to deal with one native chief, whom, by advice and assistance, he had raised to the dominion of the whole island, than maintaining the English interest in Madagascar by opposing the chiefs to each other; the latter being a policy which had been persevered in by the French for more than two hundred years, with what want of success we have already seen.

This important treaty between Radama and

Jean René being cemented by the Oath of Blood, exchanged between them in the presence of their people, Radama returned to Antananarivo, and there, on the 16th of August, 1817, received in solemn state James Hastie, the new British Agent, who was destined to play an important part in the future advancement of Madagascar.

Radama appeared on this occasion for the first time clothed in a military uniform, which had been sent to him from Mauritius; in the court of his palace, filled with troops drawn up in order of battle, surrounded by the ministers, chiefs, and officers of his Court, he received the British Agent with every demonstration of pleasure, and even affection, deeming no mark of his esteem too great towards one who not only represented the majesty of Britain, but had been already known to him as the patient and affectionate instructor of the King's younger brothers at Mauritius. On this occasion, addressing his people, he charged them to treat well all strangers who came to visit the country, but especially the English. After the public ceremony was ended, he conducted Mr. Hastie to the house which he had prepared for his reception; and there presented to him Sergeant Brady, stating that he was no longer a simple soldier, but one of his captains. The crowning act of Radama's life, and that by which his memory will ever be held in reverence by the Malagasy people, was his abolition of the slave-

trade, a traffic which, from the time of Pronis' infamous transaction with the Dutch Governor of Mauritius (already recorded) to the date of Radama's treaty with the English Governor of that island, had been the cause of continued misery and wretchedness to the natives of Madagascar.

After almost insuperable difficulties had been successfully combated by Mr. Hastie, the Commissioners from Sir Robert Farquhar met those appointed by Radama at Tamatavé, and on the 23rd of October, 1817, the treaty abolishing the slave-trade on the island of Madagascar was signed at that port. The Governor of Mauritius engaged to pay the King of Madagascar money and goods to the value of £2,000 per annum as a compensation for the loss of revenue detailed on Radama by this concession in favour of humanity. Mr. Hastie proceeded with his treaty to Mauritius, where he arrived on the 9th of November, immediately before the embarkation of Governor Farquhar on leave of absence for England. The Governor expressed his approbation of the measures which had been pursued, and assured the Malagasy ministers who accompanied Mr. Hastie of the deep interest he felt in the prosperity and advancement of their country. Mr. Hastie having been appointed to see that the conditions of the treaty were duly observed by Radama, re-embarked the same day, and returned to Tamatavé, where he found the slavedealers already selling off their

possessions and preparing to leave Madagascar. Radama, on the return of Mr. Hastie, distributed several copies of his proclamation, forbidding the slave-trade through the different provinces of Madagascar, and apparently there was an end of this infamous traffic in human beings.

The first payment of the equivalent agreed upon in the treaty with Radama becoming due in May, 1818, Mr. Hastie, agreeably to his instructions, left the capital for the coast, promising to return from Mauritius with the various articles stipulated in the agreement. While waiting a short time at Tamatavé, a vessel arrived with several slave-dealers on board, bearing the tidings, to them most agreeable, that the then Acting-Governor of Mauritius, Major-General Hall, had relinquished further intercourse with the chieftains of Madagascar; that he refused to pay the equivalent stipulated by Governor Farquhar, and intended to recall the Agent stationed at the capital. A letter from the Governor of Mauritius was at the same time presented with much formality to Mr. Hastie, by a deputation of the slavedealers, recalling him from Madagascar. The deputation having delivered the letter, put the taunting question, Who did he think possessed the purer sense of honour, the enlightened English, or the savage Radama?

Unwilling to withdraw his confidence in the veracity and honourable feelings of the British, Radama gave no credit to reports of the violation

of the treaty, until he obtained evidence of a more satisfactory nature than that conveyed to him by slavedealers. Mr. Hastie found, however, on reaching Mauritius, that the representations were but too true, and his worst fears were more than realised. His nation was dishonoured, and incalculable evils, for which he had no present remedy, was inflicted on the Malagasy.*

The conduct of General Hall brought lasting disgrace on the British name, and added another to the melancholy catalogue of events illustrative of the calamitous results of even temporary power in the hands of weak or wicked men. It is but due to the British Government to state that the conduct of the Acting-Governor was severely condemned.

Sir Robert Farquhar, on his return to Mauritius, hastened to remove the stain which had been inflicted on the national honour by his temporary representative, General Hall.

He again sent Mr. Hastie to Madagascar, who was accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Jones, of the London Missionary Society. These gentlemen arrived at the Court of Radama in September, 1820, where they were cordially greeted by the King, and entertained at a sumptuous banquet served in silver, some portion of which was the workmanship of native silversmiths. On the next day, at an audience granted by Radama, Mr.

* Rev. W. Ellis, Vol. II., p. 201.

Hastie, in reference to the treaty which had been so shamefully broken by General Hall,* endeavoured to explain that until the sanction of the King was obtained to the act of his representatives, that act did not commonly subject the person who committed it to condign punishment; but the relations established by Governor Farquhar with him being now authorised by the British Sovereign, ratified and approved, could no longer be subject to any interruption. But Radama did not appear convinced, and frequently reverted to the breach of the Treaty.† In reply, the King stated that he had signed the treaty contrary to the advice of his ministers, and even those who had counselled him from his youth. To compensate the losses caused by the cessation of the traffic in slaves, he had promised to recompense his subjects by distributing among them some of those articles to which he was entitled by the treaty, and that he feared little short of a general insurrection would be occasioned by his trying again to trust the English; that it had become a kind of proverb amongst his subjects, "False as the English."‡

Radama convoked a Kabar, at which he explained to the ministers and chiefs the good intentions of the British Government, and the great advantage which must accrue to Madagascar

* Rev. W. Ellis, Vol II., p. 217, et History of Mauritius.
† Idem, p. 226.
‡ Idem, pp. 227 and 230.

from an alliance with that mighty nation. For the first time in the career of this great chief his address was received with murmurs of disapprobation, and one chief, formerly King of Antsianaka, Rafarala by name, obtained permission to speak in reply to the King. He accordingly traced the history of the treaty of 1817, and showed its mutual advantages to the contracting parties. The assembly, moved by the impassioned eloquence of the aged chief, marked their approval of his address by a death-like silence. At last he came to its being ruptured by the English, when his indignation became so great, that words failed him to give utterance to his thoughts. And the speechless eloquence of this leader of the assembly had such an effect on his hearers, that the rejection of the proposal for the renewal of the treaty at one time appeared certain. In the tumult that ensued Radama, turning to Mr. Hastie, said, "You see I am disposed for the treaty, but my people are not. Even those who do not possess a slave or a dollar are against me. I have heard of the conduct of the French towards one of their late kings." Despite all opposition, Mr. Hastie persevered in his efforts for the cause of humanity, and the treaty was signed on the 11th of October, 1820, by which the slave-trade was again abolished in Madagascar and its dependencies.*

* See Parliamentary Papers to both Houses of Parliament, July, 1844, pp. 525, 526, 527, for the treaty of 1817, and also the two additional acts of October, 1820.

In addition, Mr. Hastie had the address to cause Radama to stipulate "that the British Government should educate, at its expense, twenty Hova youths, ten at Mauritius, and the other ten at London." Thus did England gain a firmer footing in Madagascar, in a few years, by the judicious conduct of Mr. Hastie, as British Agent, than France had obtained by more than 200 years of warfare and petty intrigue, with the loss of many valuable lives and much treasure.

Ellis, the historian of Madagascar, remarks on the successful termination of the efforts of Sir Robert Farquhar and Mr. Hastie in the cause of humanity, that, without wishing to depreciate the honourable and generous conduct of the British Government, or of its representative at the Mauritius, it is impossible to read the faithful narrative of Mr. Hastie without feeling desirous of awarding to him also his full share of credit in these transactions. The moral character of a nation just emerging from barbarism may be affected for generations, often for years, by the honourable, upright, and conscientious, or false, treacherous, and sordid conduct of the agents employed by more enlightened and powerful countries. We have seen, in tracing out the last few years of the history of Madagascar, that a breach of public faith authorised by one individual brought a disgraceful stigma on the British name and a lasting stain upon the British character, and was

the cause of thousands of human beings being plunged, in the course of a few months, into a state of wretchedness and slavery. Well would it be for our country if this was a rare occurrence; if her moral reputation had not often been foully stained in the eyes of nations who are destitute of the means of moral dignity which we possess! And if we could also estimate the sum of misery, vice, and pollution with which the slave traffic has ever been accompanied, we should then be better able to give our just tribute of gratitude and admiration to the zealous, loyal, disinterested, and benevolent exertions of the British Agent in Madagascar.

Missionaries from the London Missionary Society reached the coast of Madagascar in 1818, and after the treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade with the British Government had been finally ratified in 1820, they proceeded to the capital, and were welcomed by the King, who appeared still more delighted when they were followed by a number of intelligent men sent out by the same society, to instruct the people in the practice of many of the most useful arts. The strange and somewhat complex language of the people was acquired by the missionaries, who introduced an alphabet into the language, arranged its grammar, prepared elementary books, and translated the Holy Scriptures into the native tongue. In the space of ten years after the settlement of the teachers at

A.D. 1820.

the capital, not fewer than 10,000 or 15,000 of the natives had learned to write, and a few had made some slight progress in English, at the same time that a number professed themselves Christians. Within the same period, amongst the 1,000 or 1,500 youths who had been placed as apprentices under the missionary artizans, some had been taught to work in iron, which abounds in the country, others had been trained to be carpenters, builders, tanners, curriers, shoemakers. The substituting of legitimate and honourable commerce for the degrading traffic in slaves, the opening of a way for frequent and friendly intercourse with foreigners, the teaching of useful arts, the introduction of letters, with the knowledge of Christianity, by which this was followed, will ever cause the treaty between Sir Robert Farquhar and the King Radama to be regarded as one of the most important events in the modern history of Madagascar.* Soon after these events, the abolition of the slave-trade, and the introduction of the English missionaries, which form an epoch in the history of Madagascar, Radama fitted out an expedition against the Sackalaves, a warlike race of the North, who still resisted his authority, and were the only people who had not made an oath with Benyowski for the abolition of infanticide. Commencing the campaign with upwards of 80,000 warriors, before the close of the year sickness, engendered by the congregation of

* Ellis's "Visits to Madagascar," p. 2.

large masses in lowlands, where the malaria was at that season prevalent, and the privations which the Sackalaves exposed them to, by cutting off all supplies, and creating a famine, reduced this formidable host to half its numbers, with which he returned unsuccessful as to his views of subjugating the warlike Sackalaves. But the next year, renewing the war, victory having declared for him in several encounters, Ramitrah, Chief of the Sackalaves, proposed to him an alliance of friendship, which was cemented by Radama accepting Rasalama, daughter of the Sackalave chief, as one of his wives.

In the month of March, 1825, the troops of Radama, under the command of Ramanouloun, entered Fort Dauphin, lowered the French flag, and replaced it with that of Radama, King of Madagascar.

A.D. 1825.

A just retaliation for futile efforts made by the French in those parts to endeavour to raise a rebellion against that sovereign.

In the North-east end of the island the French were equally unsuccessful in their endeavours to create a revolution against Radama, whose troops entered the province of the Betsimsaracs, and visited with severe chastisement those who had been allured by the promises of the French commandants of Tintingue and St. Mary's, who deserted them in the hour of danger.

It was thus that the French, ever jealous of the English interest at Antananarivo, continued to

destroy their own influence on the coast, until, by a series of well-merited disasters, the French traders were forced to take refuge in Bourbon.

A.D. 1826. On the 8th of October, 1826, Mr. Hastie, the British Agent-General, died at Antañanarivo, regretted by his countrymen, and the King of Madagascar, accompanied by the Royal Family, the judges and grand officers, and an immense concourse of the people, assisted at his funeral. His remains were interred in the chapel of the missionaries.

A.D. 1828. In him England lost one who had powerfully served her interests in Madagascar, and the King to whom he was accredited his best friend and ablest adviser. In less than two years after this event—namely, on the 27th of July, 1828, and in the 37th year of his age—Radama the Great breathed his last.

Dianamponine, the first great King of the Hovas, had interdicted the use of spirits and other intoxicating beverages among his subjects, and his son, Radama, who had conquered all the nations in Madagascar, and become so powerful, that, unaided, and in opposition to the chiefs of the country, he was able to respond to the call of Great Britain, and abolish the slave-trade throughout his dominions, fell a victim to his over-excesses and over-indulgences in intoxicating draughts—a lamentable instance of human greatness and the frailty of our nature.

The following description of the person and brief sketch of Radama was written by one of the native chiefs, Prince Corroller (since deceased), and is considered by many as in general correct :—

"In person, Radama was about five feet, French, in height, slender, and small in his limbs and body, his figure in general being well proportioned. His colour was olive, his head round, his face oval, the features not strongly marked, and the expression generally agreeable, or smiling. Radama's hair was of jet black, strong and curling, his forehead not very prominent nor remarkable, except for a whitish scar across it, caused by a fall from his horse; his eyes were small and sparkling, with remarkably fine eyebrows and eyelashes; his nose, though flatter than that of Europeans, was much less so than is common in his country. His forehead and mouth were not remarkable, except that his under-lip was large, thick, and drooping. He was in the habit of laughing very loudly when excited by mirth, and his cheeks were then deeply indented, giving him an appearance of great merriment. His ears were small, and had been pierced for the purpose of occasionally inserting earrings. He was broad and square across the shoulders, but very small in the waist. He had a pretty hand, small feet, and fair skin.

"Radama was extremely affable, his conversation sweet and agreeable; indeed, so attractive, as to deceive a stranger on his first interview. His mind

was subtle and cunning, but very cheerful. He was a man of very extensive natural genius, and very inquisitive for information. He was exceedingly proud, vain-glorious, pompous on public occasions, ostentatious, arbitrary, and so accessible to flattery, that his people at length saluted him as god, which he allowed without displeasure. He was of a lively, but hasty temper, and easily offended. He was a famous hunter and a good marksman, and a noble, majestic horseman, especially on any grand and pompous occasion. Brave, intrepid, and impetuous, these very qualities made him sometimes commit acts of horrible cruelty and injustice, because he could not bear the least opposition to his will and opinion, by any person whatever, either in word or deed. He was so jealous of his absolute authority, as to render him suspicious of his first and favourite generals, towards whom he was lavish of his kindness and his condescension, except when the strictness of his military laws required him to inflict punishment for crimes. He would never allow of any advice, or any remarks made upon what he had said or done, unless he asked for it; and if any one had dared to counsel him or made any observation unrequested, he would have driven him away with violence. He would never submit to a superior, nor argue with a rival; rather than this, he would have preferred fighting to death, sword in hand. He encouraged spies and informers, of whom he employed many, and often went in disguise himself

about the town, to listen to what his people were talking of in their own houses in the evening; and although a strict observer of his own word and signature, he would not unfrequently sacrifice justice to political interest. Towards the latter years of his life he was addicted to feasting and drinking to excess, and he indulged himself in nocturnal amusements, by having a great number of men and women dancing and singing before him. Indeed, so regardless was he of all propriety and order in these respects, that the riotous pleasures in which he indulged tended greatly to injure his health and shorten his life. He was extremely fond of wearing gaudy and showy dress, but was always clean in his person. He was not avaricious in the expenditure of money upon his own vanity and pomp, though naturally covetous, and sometimes mean. In journeying through the country, or in his campaigns with his army, he was generous in the distribution of rice, oxen, and other provisions, and whenever any tribes arrived to pay him their homage, he acted kindly and generously towards them, receiving them in the most flattering manner, with all pomp and magnificence. His ruling desire being to be praised abroad in the world, many strangers who only paid a short visit to Radama received an impression somewhat too favourable of his general character. If, in the presence of a respectable European, he gave way to a fit of violent passion, and this individual seriously asked, 'Sir, what are you going to do? What will

the public gazettes and historians relate concerning you, if you commit such acts of injustice as will tarnish your glory for ever?' he would not only become calm and reasonable, but thanking the European for the reproof, would often commute death for imprisonment, and perhaps even pardon the offender. He had brilliant talents to fight and to conquer, but not so much to govern, by protecting the welfare of a conquered people; and amongst his military officers he not only introduced a great deal of useless pomp, but also great immorality. Instead of studying to obtain his revenue from agriculture, commerce, and industry, or by encouraging the introduction of useful trades, he depended upon the spoils of war and plunder for the support of his kingdom. He never studied so much how to civilise Madagascar, as how to conquer it, believing that conquering was a higher glory; for French slavedealers had spoken so much of the glory of Napoleon as a warrior and a conqueror, that it became his highest ambition to imitate his example. Being exceedingly jealous and suspicious, he was afraid to make roads from the interior of his country to the seacoast, to facilitate commerce, and even dreaded to have too many foreign artists and tradesmen in Imerina, lest they should act as spies, to prepare the way for some foreign power to enter and rob him of his kingdom at some future time."

In addition to these remarks, Mr. Freeman has justly observed, that though the character of Ra-

dama was, in some measure, formed by circumstances, yet, whatever had been his actual condition or career in life, he would still have been a man of keen perception, shrewd judgment, and deliberate resolution; he would still have possessed quick feelings, natural ardour, and vigorous promptitude in action. His superiority to many of the puerile superstitions of his country, his firmness in adhering to plans calculated to elevate the physical and moral condition of his own people, and his faithfulness in maintaining his treaties, were prominent traits in his character, of which frequent demonstrations are afforded in the history of his eventful life.

His fondness for show, parade, and pleasure unfortunately increased with his knowledge of European manners; and this, as has already been stated, induced habits of indulgence so prejudicial to his health and happiness, that it seemed as if nothing less than infatuation prompted him to persevere, when he must have known that the course he was pursuing would prove fatal. In other respects, and under other circumstances, Radama was not deficient in self-possession and decision. With the limited education he had been able to obtain, and the irregular and incidental means of information he possessed, Radama had certainly acquired what, under such circumstances, amounted to a respectable degree of intelligence. This, however, was so partial as to produce an impression that his mind was rather capable of being furnished

than actually well stored, and that his capacity for knowledge was combined with a keenness of perception and natural shrewdness which might have been rendered available for great intellectual attainments, had the early circumstances of his life been more favourable for such cultivation. Whether Madagascar possessed a prince of equal talent before him may be questioned; but there can be no doubt that it never possessed one who did so much towards the improvement of his country. None of his predecessors possessed so large an extent of territory, nor entered into foreign alliances of so durable and important a nature; none afforded so much encouragement to the civilization of his country; and though it is a fact much to be lamented, that he neither understood Christianity, nor valued it for its own sake, he gave it the Royal sanction, by favouring the labours of its friends, for the sake of the civil benefits which he anticipated in connexion with its introduction and extension in his empire.

The reign of Radama constitutes an epoch in the history of Madagascar too important ever to be lost sight of—important as regards its alliance with Great Britain, the suppression of the slave-trade, the adoption of a general system of education, and the introduction of Christianity into the very heart of the country; while the subjugation of nearly the whole island, the formation of a large native army on the European model, the reduction of the lan-

guage to considerable form and order, the establishment of a printing-press at the capital, and the diffusion of numerous branches of art and science from enlightened countries, are events which give a marked character to that period, and to the history of the sovereign under whose auspices they occurred. Had the King been better instructed in the principles of good government, had he sought the stability of his throne in the prosperity of his subjects, had he endeavoured to increase and protect their property and abolish the system of oppressive exaction which renders every kind of service to the Government a species of unrequited slavery, instead of increasing their burdens to augment his own wealth or support his multiplied armies, the foundation of his greatness would have rested on a basis far more solid than the tinsel glitter of military fame or personal aggrandisement, which appeared to be the chief objects of his life.*

The subjoined description of Radama is from the journal of Lieutenant Boteler, R.N. :—

"An opportunity occurred of seeing Radama, of which I gladly availed myself. Commodore Nourse, who had arranged to meet him at Bembatok, arrived there for that purpose a few days after us, and the Prince, who was encamped with his army at a short distance inland, immediately came down to receive him. It was their first interview. The Commodore, with a large suite of

* Ellis, Vol. II., p. 400 et seq.

officers, his band, and a guard, proceeded to Ramanatook's house, where Radama awaited his arrival. I entered a few minutes after the introduction had taken place, and during the few insipid remarks that on such occasions generally precede others of a more interesting nature, had time to contemplate at my leisure a prince of whom I had heard so much. Radama, although upwards of thirty, appeared many years younger; his stature did not exceed five feet five inches, and his figure was slight, elegant, and graceful; his demeanour was diffident in the extreme, not at all according with the idea that we are apt to form of one accustomed to a military life and its fatigues, much less to a successful warrior, the idol of a warlike people, and the terror of surrounding foes. His appearance was altogether that of one better adapted for the courtier than the hero—for the statesman than the soldier; and, more than all, for a domestic life. He spoke and wrote both English and French with facility. While conversing, he kept his head and eyes declined, yet not a word escaped that had not been well weighed and studied. The tone of voice that he assumed was low, hesitating, and cautious, as if to gain time for reflection. His features, which were well formed, remained tranquil and collected, until some part of the conversation of greater interest engaged his attention; then a tremulous, half-suppressed movement of the lip, and a hasty glance from his dark, expressive eyes,

betrayed for an instant a subdued emotion, which almost immediately subsided into the same calm but keenly-observant position.* . . . Radama's troops are all disciplined and instructed in the manual exercise and military tactics by an Englishman residing at the capital, who, in the drill terms, adopts his own language.† . . . The following scene, showing the enlarged views of Radama, and the facility with which his mind grasped ideas, however new to him, is worthy of being recorded. Commodore Nourse, in conversing with Radama, strongly impressed upon his mind how admirably his island was suited, by its numerous harbours, for the purposes of commerce. 'You want but vessels,' continued he, 'seamen to navigate them, and trade will follow of course. Although I cannot supply you with the first, with the second I possibly may, if you will give me the means. Let me have a few of your young men; they shall be distributed among the squadron under my orders, and if they fail to learn at least something, it must be their own fault. A navy you would soon have, and nothing would yield me greater pleasure than to pay my respects to the Prince of Madagascar on the quarter-deck of a frigate of his own!' Radama half rose from his seat. His ecstacy at the idea was too great for utterance; it glistened in his expressive eye, it flushed on his cheek.‡

* Owen's Narrative, Vol. II., pp. 118-119.

† Idem, p. 121. ‡ Idem, pp. 128-129.

This was immediately followed by twenty Hova youths being ordered to serve in the British Navy, evidently with the intention of the commencement of a Malagasy navy.

Madagascar is indebted to Radama for the introduction of Christianity into the heart of the country, the abolition of the slave-trade, the establishment of a system of public education, the introduction of the Roman character for the writing of the Malagasy language, the establishment of a printing-press at Antananarivo, the introduction of many European trades, the re-establishment of water communication by the formation of canals connecting the chain of lakes on the East Coast of the island, the prevention of infanticide, and the abolition of trial by tangia, or poison water. He conquered the whole island, organised an army with English discipline and tactics, laid the foundation of a navy, and left to Madagascar the memory of a monarch whose name will be associated among the benefactors of nations by the side of Alfred the Great of England.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF RADAMA TO THE EXPULSION OF THE MISSIONARIES AND THE TAKING POSSESSION OF NOSSI-BÉ BY THE FRENCH.

A.D. 1828 TO A.D. 1840.

On the death of Radama the Great, Ranavolona, one of the eleven wives of that King, succeeded in having herself elected as his successor to the throne of Madagascar. In addition to being one of his wives, she was his cousin by blood relation.

No sooner were the remains of Radama committed to their last resting place, than she commenced the destruction of those who had greater claims to the throne than herself. The nephew of Radama, who was his proper heir, the mother of this prince, who was Radama's sister, and her husband, Prince Ratiffi, as also the aged mother of Radama, were put to death; the sister of the late King being, at the time of her cruel murder, *enciente*. The most distinguished personages in the kingdom, and many of the chiefs known to be friendly to the family of the late King, were also cruelly put to death, adding to the hecatomb of victims by whose blood her throne was cemented.

Thus the suffrages of the people, obtained from them by the idol priests on the 10th of August, 1828, were confirmed. One of the first acts of the Queen was to annul the treaty concluded by Radama with the English. Mr. Robert Lyall, the British Agent, was publicly insulted, and the Queen convoked a Kabar to inform the nation that the violence offered to Mr. Lyall had been by the express directions of the idols. This was followed by an ordinance stating that the treaty made by Radama with the English was annulled, and that it was in consequence of the sorceries used by that nation on Radama that he had abandoned the customs of his ancestors, which had caused his premature death.

It was thus that this Jezebel of Antananarivo commenced her reign. And with the death of Radama the whole aspect of missionary affairs was changed at the capital of Madagascar.*

To the genius of civilization had succeeded the demon of barbarity and ignorance. The mourning of the nation for Radama was, by the Queen's order, reduced from the ordinary time of one year to six months. And on the 11th of June, 1829, under circumstances of great pomp, Ranavolona-Manjaka was crowned Queen of Madagascar. The Queen addressed the people, after which the oath of allegiance was administered to the governors of the provinces, the chiefs of the tribes, the

*. Ellis, Vol. II., p. 405.

generals, and other great dignitaries of the nation. Ramanetak, the favourite cousin of Radama, and, since the murder of his nephew, the rightful heir to the throne of Madagascar, was Governor of Bembatok when Radama died. Although a price was offered for his head, more fortunate than the other members of the Royal Family, he succeeded in escaping to Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands, the Sultan of which received him with great hospitality, and provided for his family and followers, amounting to about one hundred.

Ramanetak has ever since been a subject of great uneasiness to the Government of the Queen of Madagascar, as it is well known that the Hovas are much attached to that prince, as are also the Sackalaves in the North of Madagascar.

The influence of the English in Madagascar having ceased with the death of the late King, the French Government again renewed their endeavours to obtain possession of an island which has for two hundred years been looked upon by France as the means of obtaining the empire of the East. On the 15th of June, 1829, a squadron, under the command of M. Gourbeyre, consisting of the frigate La Terpsichore, her tender, L'Infatigable, and the transport Le Madagascar, left Bourbon for the coast of Madagascar. This force having been joined by La Chevarette, La Nievre, and the despatch boat

A.D. 1829.

Le Colibre, anchored in the roadstead of Tamatavé on the 9th of July. The military expeditionary force on board of this squadron consisted of 420 men. The commander of the expedition waited in person on Andrea Soa, the governor of the province, and announced that his mission was peace, and that he was the bearer of presents for the Queen, and requested passports for some of his officers to convey them to her Majesty. The presents had been judiciously chosen, not only to display the beauty of French manufactures, but to excite the cupidity of any ordinary woman, being two magnificent shawls, a court dress of crimson velvet, and another of tulle richly embroidered, and two pieces of gros de Naples.

During the visit M. Gourbeyre observed that the Malagasy were quite prepared to give his force a warm reception, the garrison of Tamatavé being reinforced, and large supplies of cannon-balls arriving from the capital. This decided him to lose no time, and he accordingly, on the 14th of July, wrote to the Queen, stating his peaceable intentions, and, at the same time, his grievances, giving her Majesty twenty days to reply to him. In the meantime he repaired with his squadron to Tintingue, and retook possession of it on the 4th of August. This he fortified, surveyed the bay, and sounded the channels. The Betsimsaracs—forgetful of the former desertion of them by the French, and the severe punishment inflicted on them by

Radama—were induced to join them. Andriamikaja, the General-in-Chief of the Hovas, demanded the reason for the French establishing themselves at Tintingue. M. Gourbeyre appealed to the ancient rights of France on the East Coast of Madagascar, and in his turn demanded satisfaction for an insult offered to the French nation, in the person of M. Pincon, who, being shipwrecked on the coast, was sold as a slave by the Hova chief at Fenerive, and was obliged to purchase his liberty with fifty dollars, and also for other acts of cruelty committed on Frenchmen; and ended by saying that shortly he would repair to Tamatavé, in order to obtain satisfaction for all these insults. Meanwhile M. Robin, formerly secretary to Radama, was despatched to Johanna to induce Ramanetak, the rightful heir, to raise the Sackalaves in the North, and strike a blow for the sovereignty of the island. Ramanetak willingly adopted this offer, which was not carried out, in consequence of the French not being able to furnish him with more than sixty muskets and twenty barrels of powder, with which inadequate means it would have been madness to expose his adherents to the 20,000 well-disciplined troops which the Queen could bring against him.

M. Gourbeyre, having again arrived at Tamatavé, and being informed by Prince Corroller that he had no instructions from the Queen to treat with him, on the 3rd of October he attacked the fort

at Tamatavé, and defeated the Hovas with some slaughter. On the 26th of October he attacked the Hovas at Foulepoint, where he met with a repulse and considerable loss. On the 3rd of November this officer was more successful in an attack on Point à Larrée. But the invincible courage of the Hovas was equally displayed on this occasion; for they perished to a man at their guns, and it was only when their fire was completely silenced that the French succeeded with the bayonet. These partial successes induced the Government of Madagascar to parley with the French; but as the sickly season had commenced, the French were only able to take advantage of this feeling in so far as to submit a treaty of commerce and friendship, which was not ratified by the Madagascar Government, in consequence, it is stated, of the influence of the English missionaries who still remained in the Hova capital.*†

A.D. 1831. In 1831 M. le Prince de Polignac, President of the Council, and the first Minister of Charles X., wrote a letter to the Queen of Madagascar, in which he declared that France attached the greatest importance to the pos-

* Précis Sur les Etablissements Francais à Madagascar, p. 58.

† The following laconic style was adopted by the Hova officials towards the French NEGOCIATEUR: "Monsieur Tourette, J'ai reçu votre lettre. Les conférences sont terminées; vous pouver vous en aller par l'Est; moi, je m'en retourne par l'Ouest." Signé: ANDRIANMIHARA.—Madagascar, Possession Française depuis 1642, p. 261.

session of Madagascar; that she looked upon this as the natural counterpoise to the colonial possessions of England in the East; and that he would abundantly supply the Queen with arms and ammunition, and give her a certain sum of money, if she allowed France to form establishments in St. Augustine Bay, in Diego Suarez Bay, and in two or three other parts of the island, and would secure to the Queen of Madagascar the entire protection of France from all other European Powers on the above conditions.

It is not surprising that Ranavolona-Manjaka, having induced the Prince thus to make known to her the most anxious wish of France to be acknowledged as the protector of Madagascar, has watched with unceasing vigilance all attempts made by that nation to attain this object.

After the French Revolution of July, 1830, it became necessary to husband the resources of that country, and orders were sent out to the Government, M. Duval Dally, Governor of Bourbon, to withdraw the French ships and troops from Madagascar, and to retire from the settlements on that coast. Tintingue was abandoned, and committed to the flames, to prevent its falling into the hands of the natives. On the 3rd of July, 1831, the establishment at St. Mary's was reduced to the least possible expenditure, and the abandonment of it indefinitely adjourned, to enable, in the first place, the French colonists to realise something from their

possessions there, and subsequently, to keep the flag of France on the coast of Madagascar, thereby maintaining her ancient right over her possessions in that island. This was the end of the expedition of 1829, which left Bourbon for the conquest of Madagascar.*

A.D. 1833-34.

Two years had barely elapsed after the receipt of the letter from Prince Polignac, offering to the Queen of Madagascar the protectorate of France, which was declined by her, when a more generous, if not less interested offer, was made by a neighbouring potentate, with whom she had been on friendly terms for some considerable time. Syud Seed, Bin Sultan, Bin Ahmed, Imaum of Muscat, had married the granddaughter of the King of Persia; but in consequence of a quarrel between his Highness and the King of Persia about the English, he had lost his wife, who was detained in Persia. Under these circumstances, he despatched an Ambassador in his Highness's frigate Piedmontese, mounting 36 guns, to endeavour to form an alliance with Ranavolona-Manjaka. The Ambassador was directed to proceed to the coast of Antananarivo, and there offer his master's hand in marriage to the Queen of Madagascar. The Queen replied that she had been made happy by hearing from one who had long been in friendship with her father, and she hoped always to hear of his

* Dechamps.

welfare, and wished he could pay a visit to Antananarivo. Her ministers assured the Ambassador that it was contrary to the custom of their country for the Queen to marry, but that there was a young princess whom the Imaum of Muscat might have in marriage. The widowed Queen refused to be comforted, and it was after this event that she became more devoted to the worship of the idols.

Soon after the arrival of the first English missionaries in Madagascar, A.D. 1819, Radama made a law which allowed them to remain ten years without becoming subject to the laws and customs of the country; but requiring them, at the expiration of that period, to conform to the law of the land or leave the country, unless permission to remain was granted. In the year 1829, Mr. Griffiths, one of the missionaries, having been ten years in the country, requested to know the Queen's wishes, and received, in reply to his inquiry, a message directing him to tie up his baggage and return to his native country. After much negotiation, Mr. Griffiths was allowed to remain, first for one year, afterwards for a longer period.* Similarly another missionary, Mr. Calien, some time subsequently, had a message sent to him from the Queen, that, having been ten years at Madagascar, he was expected to leave the island. Attention was called by the Government to the edict of Radama, forbidding the use of all intoxi-

* Ellis, Vol. II., p. 480.

cating drinks on pain of death; and this was made a pretext for preventing the native Christians partaking of the Holy Communion. The natives were also forbidden to be baptized into the Christian religion. These were the signs of the coming storm. The Queen does not appear to have cherished any unfriendly feeling towards the missionaries personally, and often seemed disposed to tolerate their exertions; but she was the zealous votary of the idols, on whose favour she was taught to believe her continuance in power depended. Among her ministers were three brothers; the eldest was Commander-in-Chief of the forces, the second first officer of the palace, and the third a judge. Two of them were the Queen's paramours, and all were pledged to raise the idols and former superstitions of the country to their original importance. These brothers exercised, in the name of the Queen, supreme power in Madagascar; they appear from the time of Radama's death to have seized every occasion for impeding the progress of Christianity, and to have aimed at the ultimate expulsion of the missionaries, and the extinction of the Christian faith.*

In this state of affairs, a chief of rank and influence presented himself at the palace, requesting to see the Queen, and on her Majesty's appearing, he is reported to have addressed her to the following effect: "I am come to ask your Majesty

* Ellis, Vol. II., p. 487.

for a spear, a bright and sharp spear; grant my request." On its being inquired why he wanted a spear, he answered that he had seen the dishonour done by the influence of the foreigners to the idols, the sacred guardians of the land, to the memory of her Majesty's illustrious ancestors, whereby the nation would be deprived of their protection, to which alone they owed their safety; that the hearts of the people were already turned from the customs of their ancestors and from her Majesty, their successor; that by their instructions, their brotherhood, and their books, the foreigners had already secured to their interests many men of rank and wealth in the army and the offices of Government, many among the farmers and peasantry, and vast numbers of the slaves. That all this was only preparatory to the arrival of forces from their country, which, as soon as the missionaries should send word that all was ready, would come over and take possession of the kingdom. This, it was added, would be easy, as the people would be already alienated from their own Government, and prepossessed in favour of the foreigners. The chief is said to have added: "Such will be the issue of the teaching by the foreigners, and I do not wish to live to see that calamity come upon our country; to see our own slaves employed against us; therefore I ask a spear to pierce my heart, that I may die before that evil day comes." On hearing these reports

it is stated that the Queen was so strongly excited with grief and rage, that she wept repeatedly, and remained silent for a cooking of rice (about half-an-hour), and then declared that she would put an end to Christianity, if it cost the life of every Christian in the island. The most profound silence reigned in the palace and throughout the Court; the music was ordered to cease; all amusements, dancing, &c., in the court-yard discontinued for about a fortnight; the whole Court appeared as if overtaken by some great national calamity, while consternation and alarm was visible among all classes of society. During the fortnight above referred to, edicts were issued and measures taken to destroy, as far as human power could destroy it, the existence of Christianity in the country.*

A.D. 1835.

On Thursday, the 6th of February, 1835, an edict was issued by the Queen Ranavolona-Manjaka, communicating to the missionaries and foreigners the intentions of her Majesty relative to the Word of God being for the future forbidden to be taught in the Island of Madagascar. On the 1st of March following a vast assembly, about 150,000, including all ranks, civil and military, old and young, were gathered at the capital, to hear an edict addressed to the people, calling upon those who had learnt to read, engaged or united in prayer, observed the Sabbath, or any other Christian ordinance, to confess to what extent

* Ellis, Vol. II., p. 492 et seq.

they had indulged in these practices. They were required to state explicitly the extent to which they had followed the instructions of the missionaries, and were fined or degraded in rank accordingly. Those who held any honours or ranks in the service of the sovereign were publicly degraded, and reduced nearly two-thirds in their ranks and income. Among the people, those who did not hold offices under Government were fined according to the extent to which they had attended to the duties of Christianity. It is supposed that upwards of four hundred officers were degraded on this occasion.* All were compelled to deliver up the Bibles in their possession. Deprived of every means of usefulness among the people, the missionaries directed all their energies to the completion of the Holy Scriptures. No natives were allowed to assist them at the press, but they cheerfully undertook the labour of printing the remaining portions themselves.

The Government was still willing to engage the missionary artisans to promote the casting of iron and other arts; but as it was stipulated that these should be taught without the least connexion with Christianity or any religious instruction, Messrs. Cameron and Chick declined remaining any longer in the country; and after a fruitless application to the Government of the Queen to be allowed to continue, to some extent, the communication of religious instruction of the natives, the missionaries, with the

* Ellis, Vol. II., p. 500.

exception of two engaged on the printing-press, left the Island of Madagascar, on the 27th of August, 1835, for scenes of greater usefulness.

Mr. Baker laboured with great assiduity at the press, and finished the Malagasy and English Dictionary. His companion, Mr. Johns, was employed in superintending the schools and preparing other useful works in the language. No sooner had the other missionaries left the island than the worshippers of the idols wreaked their vengeance on the late servants of these Apostles of Christ. They were all required to submit to the ordeal of the Tangena, or poison water, to prove their fidelity to the Queen; on which occasion two of the natives, who had lived in the family of Mr. Freeman (the head of the mission), being declared guilty, were barbarously murdered. The rest escaped with no other injury than that which usually follows the poison, even where it does not prove fatal.

Shortly after these events, Messrs. Johns and Baker received indirect intimation that it was the wish of the Government that they should leave the island. All means of usefulness to the people were for the present at an end, and the lives of the native Christians who were known to have any intercourse with them were constantly placed in jeopardy by the treachery and hostilities of their enemies. Unable to discover any favourable change in the views of the Government, uncheered by any prospect of resuming their labours, and finding that their

presence increased the troubles of the native Christians, without securing any equal advantages, the remaining brethren, after much prayer and frequent deliberation with the native Christians, felt it their duty to retire to Mauritius, at least for a season.

Influenced by these considerations, Messrs. Johns and Baker, with feelings of poignant anguish, left the capital in the month of July, 1836. From this period we may date affliction to the Island of Madagascar. The missionaries, since 1819, had been in the hands of Jehovah, a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to lead this people from their life of bondage and darkness to one of Christianity and civilization. Like the Israelites of old, having raised up to themselves the graven calf of their own imaginations, and driven the angel of the Lord from their tabernacle, they are permitted to wander in a wilderness of the darkest superstition, from which all sincere Christians will fervently pray for their speedy deliverance. Since the death of Radama, we find the Government of Ranavolona opposed to the establishment of foreigners in the Island of Madagascar, the British agent, Mr. Lyall, insulted and driven away, the missionaries expelled, and every impediment thrown in the way of traders establishing themselves, even on the coast.

It is affirmed that M. Delastelle, a Frenchman, who had the good fortune to please the Queen, and was raised by her to the rank of andrian, or prince, has been the principal agent in causing the great

obstructions placed in the way of mercantile establishments being formed by Europeans at Tamatavé.* M. Delastelle farmed the revenue raised at Tamatavé by the Customs House, and in order to profit by the monopoly which such a position gave him, he was opposed to all Europeans entering Madagascar. Be this as it may, his fine sugar plantations near Tamatavé are now lying in ruins, his heirs having quarrelled among themselves as to the division of the property.

About the time of the departure of the missionaries from Madagascar—viz., in the summer of 1836—the Queen of that island despatched an Embassy to England and to France. Various reasons have been given as to the cause of the Queen taking this step; but it was doubtless felt by her advisers that some explanation of the change of policy adopted by her Majesty was not only due, but was expected by the Governments of England and France, who were fully alive to the benefits to be derived by their colonies situated in those seas from the prudent steps adopted by Radama for the development of the resources of Madagascar. The Embassy consisted of six officers of various ranks. The French ship Mathilde was chartered by the Queen to take them from Tamatavé to England and France and back. The Embassy arrived at Port Louis, in the Mauritius, during the month of October, where they were courteously received by

* "Histoire Politique de Madagascar," par M. Dechamps, p. 180.

the Governor, Sir William Nicolay. After a short stay, the Mathilde proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, where they received similar attentions from the Governor of that colony, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. After leaving the Cape, they touched at Havre de Grace, and thence proceeded in the steam-packet to London, which they reached in February, 1837.

October, 1836.

The following are copies of the Queen of Madagascar's letters to the English and French Governments :—

"TO KING WILLIAM IV., KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, &c., &c., &c.

"June 24, 1836.

"This I say to you, my friend, that I have sent letters to you, and you have sent letters to me, and perhaps some of our friendly correspondence has failed to reach its destination. Therefore, I send my Ambassadors into your presence to announce friendship.

"Now, I did not receive the customary present to Radama. Not because I was vexed or angry; but if friendship is to be obtained by the purchase of money and riches, and to be perpetuated by the exchange of goods, then I did not accept the present. And things which are with us and not with you, you can buy here; and things with you and not with us, we buy from you.

"And with respect to your friendship with Radama, Radama did not export people across

the sea; and I, the successor of Radama, do not export people across the sea, whether to you or any other nation.

"May you live long and be my friend always; and may the people of England be always the people of Madagascar.

"May you live long, saith

"RANAVOLONA-MANJAKA."

"TO THE KING OF THE FRENCH.

"This I say to you, that my Ambassadors will visit you to announce friendship. And if things are with us and things are not with you, you can buy from us; and if there are things with you and not with us, we can buy from you.

"For I have no enemy across the sea, of what ever nation; but I desire good friendship and good commerce.

"This I say to you.

"May you live long, saith

"RANAVOLONA-MANJAKA."

On the 1st March, 1837, the Embassy was presented to King William IV. by Viscount Palmerston, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and on the 7th of the same month they were honoured with a special interview by the King at Windsor Castle. Upon this occasion they were accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Freeman, as interpreter, who presented the King with a copy of the Holy Scriptures in Malagasy, which had been

translated into that language at Antananarivo by the English missionaries, and printed by the missionary press there. The King appeared deeply impressed with the gift, as were the beholders of the scene. The defender of the faith receiving the Book of Life, printed in a barbarian tongue, reduced to order by the humble missionary, who had been sent out by voluntary aid from his own country, and thus bearing back the good fruits of his faith and industry, was indeed a subject worthy of the monarch's attention and the painter's art. During the interview the King presented the Embassy to the Queen, and while passing through the apartments of the Castle, which were thrown open for their inspection, they had the honour of again seeing her Majesty, who, in conversation, elicited that, in consequence of an edict from the Queen of Madagascar, no native could profess Christianity. It was on this occasion that Queen Adelaide, addressing herself to the members of the Embassy, said: "Tell the Queen of Madagascar, from me, that she can do nothing so beneficial for her country as to receive the Christian religion." A queenly message that will always associate the name of the good Queen Adelaide with missionary progress in Madagascar.

On the 19th March, 1837, the Embassy had a final interview with the British Government, receiving a written communication for their sovereign. After leaving England, they concluded

their negotiations with the French Government, and reached Tamatavé in the month of September following.

A.D. 1837. The Embassy were by no means successful with the British Government, who could not but highly disapprove of the wanton sacrifice of life and the unparalleled cruelties inflicted by the Queen's troops in the southern portion of Madagascar. The residence of a British Agent, in compliance with the treaty between England and Radama, being required by the British Government, as a preliminary to any engagement on the part of England with the existing Government of Madagascar.

A.D. 1840. In the month of July, 1840, Isormonmeka, Queen of the Sackalaves, who had fled from Madagascar, and virtually resigned her sovereign rights to Ranavolona-Manjaka, Queen of all Madagascar, ceded to the King of France the islands of Nossi-bé and Nossi Cumba, and with them her claims upon the sovereignty of the West Coast of Madagascar, from the Bay of Passandava to Cape St. Vincent. In a similar manner Andrian Souli was induced to cede to France the Island of Mayotte, on which he was an alien and usurper. M. Passot, the Agent of the Governor of Bourbon, having succeeded in these negotiations, repaired to Mourounsang in the brig-of-war Le Colibre, and informed the Hova general at that place that the refugees on the above islands had in-

voked the protection of the French nation. Thus the French claims on the Island of Madagascar have been advanced on the West Coast, and remain in abeyance "until such time as it shall be convenient for the Government of France to assert them." *.

* Document sur la Partie Occidentale de Madagascar, par M. le Capitaine de Corvette Guillain, p. 141. Imprimerie Royale, 1846.

CHAPTER VII.

Difficulties in the way of Commerce — Memorial of Jacob Heppick—H.M.S. Conway arrives at Tamatavé—Captain Kelly, R.N., and Judge Philibert—H.M.S. Conway returns to Mauritius—Further restrictions to Trade—H.M.S. Conway and French Ships of War Berceau and Zélée in Tamatavé Roadstead — Failure of Negotiations — Hova Forts—Joint Protest—Attack on the Fort—Account of the Action—Revolting Spectacle.

THE retirement of the English missionaries from the capital of the island, and the cupidity of the Queen, caused increasing difficulties to be thrown in the way of trade with Europeans at Tamatavé, the principal seaport on the East Coast.

A.D. 1844. In consequence of the growing impediments to legitimate commerce felt by the natives and European exporters of cattle, their price was enhanced from eight to fifteen or sixteen dollars per head. The Islands of Mauritius and Réunion being entirely dependent on Madagascar for supplies of beef and draught cattle, this restrictive policy, adopted by the Queen and her advisers, naturally caused much irritation in the neighbouring French and English colonies, and loud and repeated were the complaints addressed by the inhabitants to the Governors of those islands. But so long as the

liberty of the European residents at Madagascar was not interfered with, the Governors of Mauritius and Réunion wisely abstained from remonstrating with the Hova Government, which had in its power the means of greatly injuring those islands, by cutting off the supplies of labour, cattle, and rice.

At length an outrage on a British subject caused the Governors of Mauritius and Réunion to co-operate for the combined protection of Europeans trading in the ports of Madagascar, which resulted in that island being virtually closed to the trade of England and France for some years.

Mauritius and Réunion, being sugar-producing islands, are dependent for their prosperity upon an extraneous supply of labour which has been in a great measure kept up by the adjoining Continent of Africa; but at the date we are writing of—viz., in 1844—the labour market was principally supplied from Madagascar.

On the pretext of carrying out the Slave-trade Treaty with England made by the late King Radama, the Queen and her advisers ordered this supply of labour to cease, and natives of Madagascar were forbidden to leave the island for Mauritius or Réunion.

Soon after this enactment it appears that Mr. Heppick, chief officer of the Marie Laurie, who was a British-American-born subject, was seized on a pretended accusation of harbouring, or rather detain-

ing, seven Malagasies on board the Marie Laurie, at anchor in Tamatavé roadstead, with the ultimate intention of conveying them to Mauritius for the supply of the labour market there. A gale of wind springing up, it was stated that these men became frightened, leaped overboard, and while swimming to the shore one of the number perished. Such was the accusation referred to in the subjoined memorial by Mr. Heppick to the Governor of Mauritius :—

"THE MEMORIAL OF JACOB HEPPICK, MARINER, TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR WILLIAM GOMM, K.C.B., &c., &c., &c., GOVERNOR OF MAURITIUS AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

"May it please your Excellency,—

"Your memorialist begs to inform your Excellency that he sailed from Port Louis for Tamatavé, Madagascar, as chief officer of the bark Marie Laurie, of Port Louis, Captain Croft, on the 10th February last; and that on the 3rd March, having part of the cargo on board, there came on a severe gale, by which the said ship was driven ashore, unshipped, and broke her rudder; and was in consequence detained for the reparation of the same. On the 4th March, your memorialist being on shore on duty, he and several of the resident traders were called to the Custom-house, when the authorities of Tamatavé brought forward a Malagasy labourer, who accused your memorialist with having detained him and six other men on board the bark Marie Laurie by force, which your memorialist declared to

be false, and called upon them to produce proof that the men were seen on board the said ship, which they could not do; yet they detained him on shore that day and night, in charge of four armed men. On the 5th and 6th days of March your memorialist was conveyed to the Custom-house, when the same charge was made against him in presence of several of the resident traders, on each occasion without any evidence being produced. Notwithstanding, he was still detained on shore. On the 7th of March, the authorities having summoned all the resident traders of the port to a Kabar at the Government House, the said charge was repeated; and without any evidence whatever of the men having been seen on board, or leaving the said ship, notwithstanding a number of men and women from the shore daily visited the ship, and had access to all parts thereof. The Hova authorities, still persisting in the charge, your memorialist was advised by the ship's agent to propose a decision according to their law, in cases of doubt, preferring to pay a small sum, should the decision be against him, rather than that he or the ship should be detained or subjected to annoyance for the future. But the authorities, without having made a decision according to law, or having produced any evidence in confirmation of the charge, did, on the 25th of March, whilst your memorialist was proceeding to take the rudder on board the ship, detain him forcibly on shore, and informed him that he could not proceed in the ship.

"Your memorialist begs to state that from that period up to the present date he has been detained a prisoner at Tamatavé, under strict charge, night and day, without any further proceedings having been adopted, or any evidence produced in confirmation of the charge made against him, notwithstanding the efforts made by Captain Laconfourgue, when at Tamatavé, in April last, and the frequent demands made by your memorialist, who apprised the authorities that, as they did not comply with his proposal before the departure of the ship, neither would he now consent to a decision by the ordeal; demanding of them either to prove their charge or to give him his release, and compensation for the loss of his time and expenses. But hitherto he has not been favoured with any communication whatever; nor has he any prospect of obtaining his release from confinement in an unhealthy climate, or compensation for the loss he will sustain through the unjustifiable proceedings of the authorities of Tamatavé, sanctioned by the Hova Government. Your memorialist begs to enclose to your Excellency a certificate from the only British resident of Tamatavé present at the Kabar, in confirmation of his statement.

"Your memorialist humbly begs your Excellency will be pleased to take into consideration the hardship and injustice of his case; and solicits your Excellency will adopt measures to obtain his release, and compensation for his loss, which cannot be esti-

mated at less than twenty pounds sterling per month, and four shillings per day expenses, from the 25th of March until the time of his release.

"And your memorialist, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

(Signed) "JACOB HEPPICK.

"Tamatavé, June 16, 1844."*

Mr. Heppick's memorial being accompanied by vouchers from Mr. Samuel Shipton, then residing at Tamatavé, referred to in the above document as the Englishman present during the conference at Tamatavé; these statements having been further strengthened on inquiry by Mr. Dick, then Colonial Secretary, among the captains and supercargoes of the vessels employed in the cattle trade between the two islands—Sir William Gomm despatched Her Majesty's frigate Conway, then under the command of Captain Kelly, to Tamatavé, for the purpose of inquiring into the circumstances of the case. Captain Kelly was also the bearer of a letter from the Governor of Mauritius to the Queen of Madagascar, and was accompanied by Mr. Baker, as an interpreter, who had for many years served in the mission at Antananarivo.

Upon anchoring in the roads of Tamatavé, Captain Kelly proceeded on shore, for the purpose of paying a visit to the Governor, being accompanied by Mr. Edward

October, 1844.

* "Madagascar, Past and Present," p. 92.

Baker and three of his officers, and was received by a guard of honour at Government House.

Razakafidy, the Commandant of Tamatavé, on the plea of illness, did not appear, but the Chief Judge, accompanied by officers of rank, were commissioned to receive the captain of H.M.S. Conway.

The Malagasy, like all Eastern nations, conduct their official interviews with considerable ceremony, and, in the first place, inquiry was made as to the rank of Captain Kelly. In Madagascar twelve military grades of honour are recognised; the highest being that of marshal, while a private soldier is simply of the first honour. Captain Kelly, with true Hibernian modesty, declared himself of only the eleventh honour, but Mr. Baker, the interpreter, fearing that this might be a *ruse* on the part of the Malagasy to delay negotiation, replied to the query in the native language, "that the rank of Captain Kelly corresponded to the number of guns which his vessel mounted, and that that number being twenty-six, the rank of the English officer exceeded anything for which their country was prepared." *

Captain Kelly then stated the object of his mission, at the same time assuring the authorities that he was expressly desired to state by the Governor of Mauritius that Englishmen would not be encouraged in violating the laws of Madagascar, nor protected if found so committing themselves.

* "Madagascar, Past and Present," p. 98.

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The Chief Judge, Philibert, then informed Captain Kelly that, some months previously, the Marie Laurie arrived at Tamatavé, having on board seven labourers, natives of Madagascar, who were returning to the island after the expiration of their engagements at Mauritius. That Captain Croft, together with Mr. Heppick, his mate, instead of landing the men on arrival, detained them on board, and confined them below. And that when the searchers from the Custom-house went on board to inquire if any labourers had returned to their native country, they were assured by the captain, and also by Mr. Heppick, that there were none on board, notwithstanding there were seven at the moment under hatches.

Philibert further stated that, in confirmation of this assertion, two witnesses had been examined by the Hova officers; also that there were two other Malagasy natives, who had subsequently gone on board, whilst she was at Tamatavé, for the purpose of procuring a passage to Madagascar, and that these likewise were admitted and concealed below in company with the seven other men; that a gale of wind springing up, and the vessel being found to have broken from her moorings, the nine Malagasies were ordered upon deck, to assist in managing her. But that, being alarmed for their safety, they had jumped overboard, with a view to reaching the shore, and that in this attempt one of their number had found a watery grave; two were made prisoners

of by the soldiers on duty in the town, and the remaining six escaped. The two men captured on the occasion had asserted that the captain had concealed them below, and these men it was who were ready to confirm all that he had now advanced against the officers of the Marie Laurie. That, in consequence of these charges, the mate, Mr. Heppick, was detained at Tamatavé, his presence being required until the trial was ended; but that the captain had been permitted to proceed with the vessel to its destination. The result of the trial was a verdict of guilty, and Mr. Heppick was adjudged to pay a penalty of one hundred dollars, a fine levied on both the captain and mate; this was subsequently reduced to sixty dollars, upon payment of which Mr. Heppick was freed, and quitted Tamatavé.*

The statement of the Chief Judge having been carefully translated for the information of Captain Kelly and his officers, Mr. Baker was requested to inquire if there was any truth in the statement that it had been publicly proclaimed in two places that the white men—namely, Croft and Heppick—had been reduced into slavery. To this the Hova authorities replied, "No such proclamation was ever issued in the case of white men."

Captain Kelly now demanded to know if they were aware of the treaty of friendship between the late King Radama and the English, by the terms of

* "Madagascar, Past and Present."

which it was agreed that no British subject could be reduced to a state of slavery in Madagascar.

To this the Chief Judge replied that the existence of such a treaty was well known in Madagascar, and that they had no desire to injure the English ; at the same time, the laws of the country must be maintained and enforced against foreigners as well as natives.

Captain Kelly then proposed that as it had been circulated far and wide that the two Englishmen, Croft and Heppick, were reduced to slavery in Madagascar, it should be stated at a Kabar that no Englishman could be reduced to slavery in Madagascar.

After a lengthy discussion, the matter was referred to Razakafidy, the Commandant, who received Captain Kelly on the following day. But this conference led to no result but disappointment, and the Conway left Tamatavé for Mauritius, Captain Kelly having previously entrusted the letter of the Governor to the Queen, with which he was charged, into the hands of a trusty messenger.

May, 1845.

On the 13th of May, 1845,* at two o'clock in the afternoon, the English and French traders, together with the other inhabitants of Tamatavé, were summoned by order of the Queen, Ranavolona-Manjaka, to the house of Phi-

* Journal des Evénements qui on eu lieu à Tamatavé du 13 Mai au 16 Juin, 1845, signé par tous les Européans qui ont été témoins des faits.—*Revue de l'Orient*, année 1846, T. III., p. 146.

libert, the Chief Judge, for the purpose of hearing an announcement read. The Chief Judge was surrounded by all the Hova officers and a guard of 170 men.

Memorials were immediately addressed by the Europeans located at Tamatavé to their respective Governments at Mauritius and Réunion, which were responded to with a promptitude worthy of the occasion.

June, 1845. The Conway, mounting twenty-six guns, and commanded by Captain Kelly, was immediately despatched from Mauritius to Tamatavé, and on her arrival there, on the 12th June, 1845, it was discovered that she was preceded by a French man-of-war, for the Zélée, of twelve guns, had anchored in the roadstead during the previous day. The commander of the Zélée immediately waited upon Captain Kelly, and communicated to him the fact of his having been engaged on shore that day in a conference with the authorities of the place, from whom he was unable to obtain the smallest concession in favour of the Europeans. As the shades of evening closed in, the Berceau, mounting twenty-six guns, and bearing the broad pennant of the French Commodore, sailed majestically into the roadstead, and took up her position alongside of the Conway. On the following morning the French and English officers had consulted and arranged their plan of action, in the event of diplomatic overtures failing.

At two o'clock on the 13th June Captain Kelly sent letters on shore, desiring an interview with the Commandant, Chief Judge, and officers, as soon as convenient. Ten o'clock the next morning having been appointed, he went on shore, accompanied by three officers, and Mr. Baker as interpreter. He had to encounter the pitiable sight of all the traders huddled together at the Custom-house, surrounded by merchandise and luggage, packed in the hurry of departure, their looks and dress plainly indicating the disorder of their minds. For nearly three hours, seated at the house of the Chief Judge, and in the midst of a multitude of Hovas of all ranks, Captain Kelly held a conference with the Governor and Chief Judge, which resulted in nothing but disappointment.

It would be tedious to give the details and endless repetitions on the part of the Hova officers at this conference. They had no criminal charges to bring against the British traders, but were resolved to carry out the recent law, subjecting foreigners residing in the island to Malagasy vassalage or banishment. In vain it was pleaded that time was not allowed to the merchants to wind up their affairs; that no vessels had arrived to convey them and their effects away; only the Manchester, from Mauritius, and a small trading bark from Bourbon, lying then at anchor in the roads of Tamatavé. Where and how were they to go, and how? And what to do if the vessels would not take them?

The Hova officers "did not know," but "the law of the land must be obeyed, and the time allowed would expire the next day."

To every argument and petition for delay they opposed an obstinate negative.

Captain Kelly now demanded that before the traders were forcibly expelled, a sealed letter from the Governor of Mauritius, which he had delivered, and one from himself to the Queen, asking for one year to be granted to the merchants holding property at Tamatavé, might be forwarded to her Majesty at Antananarivo, and the question left entirely to her decision. He pleaded the ancient friendship of the British and Hova Governments; offered to be responsible for the peaceable conduct of the traders in the interim; and promised that they should be ordered to abide by the Queen's decision. The Hova officers seemed divided in opinion, but finally rejected the proposal. Thus, all reference to higher authority was rendered impracticable by the obstinacy of the Hova officers, and both parties were left to act on their own responsibility.

There appeared nothing remaining but to ascertain whether British subjects who absolutely could not leave within the prescribed period would be protected in life and property, in accordance with treaties and customs of friendly nations. The Hova officers distinctly and repeatedly declared that they would not promise any security to the white people leaving; they would not admit that they had any

property in Madagascar; neither would they be responsible for the lives of those who stayed contrary to law. In short, they would give no assurance or promise whatever. They insisted upon the traders leaving or submitting; but they would not allow the sailors of the Conway to assist in fetching away goods from the traders' houses. Here, therefore, the discussion closed, Captain Kelly solemnly declaring that he could not but regard their conduct as hostile to the British nation, which they replied to with marked insolence and defiance.

It appeared obvious that certain of the Hova officers, thinking themselves unassailable in their fortress, wished for an opportunity of showing their strength.

Captain Kelly returned on board. The Hova officers immediately withdrew into their fort, and when the French Commodore sent two officers on shore to convey letters and receive their answers, they absolutely refused them an interview, or even permission to land.

The fort to which the Hovas had retired is described by Mr. Baker, who acted as interpreter to Captain Kelly during the conference with the Hovas, and from whose report we have principally taken our collection of facts:—

A sandbank of nearly 180 feet above the level of the sea, surrounding, on a circuit of perhaps a mile or a mile and a half, a kind of casemated fortification. The latter, which is of a circular form, and

encloses an open area of very large capacity, consists of three walls of solid masonry, the first of which is nine feet in thickness, within and around which are stationed thirty-two eighteen-pounders. The height of this wall is estimated at thirty feet. The second, unlike the last described, is built of coarse sand, is six feet in diameter, twelve feet only in height, and fills up entirely the space between the first, or outermost, and the third, or innermost wall. On the summit of this second wall a platform is erected, which forms the floor of a gallery running round the entire building. This gallery is about ten feet high where it is roofed, and the same wall (the second) carried on from that point to nearly a level with the first. It is within this gallery that the soldiers destined to work the guns are located. The third and innermost wall extends to about the same height with the second; and on the top of all men were stationed with firelocks, protected by the somewhat greater height of the first. Such is a rapid and imperfect sketch of the stronghold in question. It was built but a few years previously by two Arab engineers; and, as the reader can understand, is quite unassailable by musketry. Saturday, the 15th June, was occupied in assisting the traders with boats to embark their goods; and two other trading vessels fortunately came to an anchor in the roadstead, affording increased facilities for the necessities of the traders.

On Sunday morning a joint protest of the English and French commanders against those outrageous

proceedings having been drawn up in English, French, and Malagasy, it was taken on shore by an English and a French officer, accompanied, as usual, by the interpreter; but the Hovas refusing to send an officer to receive it, the boat returned, bearing back the protest. Captain Kelly, still resolved to afford them every chance of conciliation, went himself on shore, accompanied by the same French officer, when the Hovas yielded so far as to send an officer of rank to receive the protest, promising to reply to it, if at all, by two o'clock.

Thus all having been done that the joint commanders could devise for bringing the authorities to reason and justice, it appeared unavoidably to follow that, if they still persisted in refusing to allow the traders a reasonable time to embark their merchandise and luggage, on which condition it was understood the question would be referred to the Governments of Mauritius and Bourbon—if the Hovas rejected this ultimatum, there appeared but one course, to engage and disable the fort. The important cattle trade was already suspended or destroyed by the conduct of the Hovas. The affair had gone too far for the representatives of two great nations to recede with honour, and all depended upon the final reply of the Hova authorities.

At the appointed hour of two o'clock a boat was sent on shore, and a written reply received, to the effect that the law could not be changed. No con-

cessions would be made. An unusual stillness prevailed on shore; the soldiers having apparently retired into the fort and the people of the town entirely disappeared. All had been open and candid on the part of the English and French; the natives evidently understood that the moment for action had arrived.

At half-past two the ships opened their fire, which continued with unabated activity for nearly two hours, directed for the most part at the large fort already described.

Gradually the battery slackened their fire. The storming parties from the ships were then piped away, as had been previously arranged, and about four o'clock shoved off from the ships, under their appointed leaders.

The boats formed in line in a concerted order, and then pulled briskly for the beach towards the left of the ships, which still kept up a steady cannonade upon the enemy's position. The men disembarked under repeated discharges of round and grape shot from the enemy, and formed immediately. They then made a short detour to the left, to clear the jungle and gain a more direct access to the point of attack. A portion of our force filed off to carry a breastwork, mounting six guns, which flanked the large fort and commanded the approaches to it; the main body formed in line facing the fort itself, now distant about 200 yards. The word being given to advance, the men, with a loud

cheer, charged at full speed across the interval, in defiance of a destructive fire from the enemy's works, and instantly were masters of the external defences.

The subordinate attack succeeded. The assailants, after a sharp conflict at the point of the bayonet, in which the first lieutenant of the Zélée fell, slew or expelled the defenders, spiked the guns, and hastened to the main attack. Here the real character of the works had first come into view; and one glance was sufficient to make it evident that they were reducible by nothing short of breaching artillery. Two French field-pieces, which had been dragged to the summit of the embankment, were utterly inadequate to make impression upon the solid masonry within.

Our people kept up an unremitting fire of musketry upon the embrasures, within which many were seen to fall, and upon such of the enemy as attempted to reload their cannon, and as issued in small parties from time to time, from the bush, to inspirit their companions, and disorder the attack. They were destroyed almost to a man. The enemy's fire, too, was waxing feebler, and eventually ceased, with the exception of one gun; but the occupation of the fort was not the less impracticable. Our men were therefore collected and withdrawn. They fell back to their first position at landing, protected by a gun in the Conway's boat, in charge of which was an officer, and

the ships again opening a fire into the jungle. But the Hovas made no decided effort to molest the movement, and from this time, about half-past five, their fire ceased altogether; a circumstance which speaks most significantly their loss and consternation. Our wounded had previously been carefully handed into the boats and sent on board, and the surf now running inconveniently high for embarkation, the men were marched down to the usual landing place, to the left of the Custom-house, firing that building as well as others in the way. By half-past six all had returned on board.

The storming party amounted in all to three hundred and fifty, of whom eighty-five were British seamen and Marines, one hundred were French infantry, and the remainder French sailors. The loss sustained was nearly in proportion to their respective numbers. French, seventeen killed and forty-three wounded; English, four killed and thirteen wounded; including one English officer amongst the wounded, and three French officers among the slain. Total, twenty-one killed and fifty-six wounded.

The loss of the Hovas must have been very great. A runaway native, who came off in a canoe on Monday morning, declared the report of a wounded soldier, whom he had just seen on shore, to be that four generals had fallen, including one named Rainingiory, who had been present at all the conferences, twenty captains, a number of inter-

mediate officers, and about half the garrison of four hundred men.

On the morning after the attack, the officers and men of the ships of war were regaled at daybreak with a spectacle sufficiently revolting. This was no less than that of a row of poles, whereon the heads of our deceased countrymen were suspended, which had been arrayed on the beach immediately abreast of the vessels.*

The foregoing is almost a literal account of this unfortunate affair, which was compiled from the account of Mr. Baker, who was an eye-witness and participator in the stirring events narrated by him.

On Tuesday morning the men-of-war weighed anchor, and taking leave of one another with a peal of cannon, proceeded to their individual destinations, for which the merchant vessels had already departed.

Such was the result of the visit of H.M.S. Conway, carrying twenty-six guns, under the command of Captain Kelly, and of the French ship of war Berceau, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Romain-Defossés, assisted by the Zélée.

A Hova fort, having a garrison of about four hundred men, succeeded in beating a storming party of French and English nearly equal in numbers. No attempt to renew the combat was made, and the senior naval officers of both countries sail away, complimentarily puffing powder at each other,

* "Madagascar, Past and Present."

while the successful natives look on exhibiting the skulls of their vanquished enemies on the beach.

These frigates had only the guns on the side next to the beach engaged, and, consequently, they might have landed thirteen guns each, making twenty-six guns to place in position on shore for the purpose of breaching the walls of the fort.

They had no naval force opposed to them, and, consequently, could have had no fear of being attacked by sea while engaged with the fort. Being at anchor, they had neither sails nor spars to look after, and had only to serve the guns on the side engaged. One-fourth of their ships' companies would have been ample for the service of those guns, under such circumstances; the boats and covering parties might have required another fourth, leaving at least one-half of the combined crews under cover of the ships' batteries to have built a fort. The bags served out to the men for keeping their clothes in, empty bread-bags, and hammocks, sewn together, could have been prepared in a few hours, which, on reaching the shore, would form the materials for a sandbag battery, one of the best protections for breaching guns.

CHAPTER VIII.

Interruption of Friendly Relations with the Malagasy and Europeans — The Great Christian Persecutions of 1849 — Constancy of the Martyrs.

AFTER the ignominious failure in the attack of the fort by the British and French forces on Tamatavé, in June, 1846, the Malagasy Government prohibited the exportation of every article of native produce, more especially the trade in rice and cattle, carried on between Madagascar and the neighbouring European colonies of Mauritius and Réunion. Rice was obtained from India, but the supplies of cattle had to be sent from the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, at, of course, a great increase of cost to the consumers. And although an effort was made by the English Admiral Dacres, in 1848, and subsequently by the French Admiral Cécile, to restore friendly relations between those nations and the Malagasy, all amicable intercourse ceased for a period of eight years.*

Long before this interruption of friendly relations between the natives and foreigners, the former had been subjected to much persecution by the Government of the Queen, who, ever since her accession to power, had endeavoured to cement the in-

* "Visits to Madagascar," p. 4.

terests of the various chiefs and the native priests by a systematic opposition to the Christian religion, with a fixed determination to exterminate it out of the island.

For, soon after the retirement of the missionaries, in 1836, a number of persons suspected of being Christians were required to prove their innocence by drinking the Tangena, or poison water, which to many of them proved fatal.*

This persecution went on until, at last, soon after the retirement of European traders, it assumed a force and permanency which has had a great effect on the future of Madagascar. Had the Government of Ranavolona-Manjaka been satisfied with forbidding the Christian religion and encouraging the idol worship, time might have fixed the latter more permanently among the Malagasy people; but the very efforts that were made for the destruction of the former only drew attention to the behaviour of

* The poison employed is taken from the kernel of a fruit as large as a peach growing upon a tree called *Tanguinea Veneniflora*. The lampi-tanguini, or person who administers the poison, announces to the accused the day on which he is to take it. For forty-eight hours before the appointed time he is allowed to eat very little, and for the last twenty-four hours before the trial nothing at all. The lampi-tanguini scrapes away as much powder from the kernel with a knife as he judges necessary for the trial. He then spreads the poison on three little pieces of skin, about an inch in size, cut from the back of a fat fowl. These are rolled together and the accused swallows them. As soon as he has taken the poison the accused drinks large quantities of rice-water. If he vomits the *three* pieces of skin he is declared innocent; but if any less number, he is immediately despatched.

the converts, and caused the very sufferings of the Malagasy Christian martyrs to prove, even in that benighted land, a successful means of eventually establishing the Christian religion in Madagascar.

"Thus, by various indications of His presence and grace, God was not only sustaining and reviving the hearts of His servants, but preparing them for trial more terrible than any which they had hitherto endured—the great persecution of 1849. And amongst the exciting causes to which that persecution must be traced, are those which had brought the greatest gladness to their hearts—the manifest and marvellous proofs of progress and prosperity. These, so cheering to themselves, were hateful to their foes. The increasing numbers and boldness of the Christians; the openness with which they assembled, and read and prayed, in defiance of law; and still more, the fact that her son, her nephew, and others of high rank, had embraced their opinions, attended their meetings, and aided their escape from punishment—filled the Queen and her abettors with rage almost amounting to madness. It is at this period that Rambosalama, the brother of Ramonja, first comes prominently into view. Adopted by the Queen as her successor to the throne prior to the birth of her son, this young man had always regarded Rakoto as his enemy and supplanter. He had long been opposed to the new religion; but the Prince's adhesion to it increased his hostility, and made him, there is reason to believe, a chief instigator of the

persecution of 1849, as well as an active agent in the discovery and impeachment of Christians. He sent spies in all directions, and employed other means, which proved but too effectual, in bringing suffering upon the objects of his aversion.

"The earliest indication of the coming tempest appeared on the 19th February, 1849, in an order from the Queen to destroy two houses which had been used for Christian worship. Prince Ramonja interposed a claim upon one of them, but it was disregarded, and the buildings were razed to the ground. During the next two days nine Christians were consigned to prison. One of these had been an officer of the army, and after the loss of his sight had become a preacher of the Gospel. Fearless and faithful, this good man and two of his companions embraced the opportunity of urging the truth of God upon the attention and conscience of the high officers who visited them in prison, and others to whom they had access.

"In the course of the following week, the people were twice called together to a Kabary; and when they were assembled, an officer thus addressed them:—

"'I ask you,' saith the Queen, 'what is the reason you will not forsake the very root of this new religion and mode of worship? For I have deprived officers of their honour, put some to death, reduced others to unredeemable slavery, and you still persevere in practising this new religion. What is

the reason why you will not renounce it and deliver up the books by which you have done this?' Bold must they have been who could answer these words of the Queen. But such there were amongst the Christians, two of whom thus replied, in the name of their companions:- 'We are restrained by reverence of God and His law!' It was a noble reply, and was influenced by the same spirit which constrained the Apostolic appeal, 'Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.'"*

The following account of the examination of some of these witnesses of Christ was given to Mr. Ellis:—

Officer.—Do you pray to the sun, or the moon, or the earth?

"I do not pray to these," was the answer, "for the hand of God made them."

Officer.—Do you pray to the twelve sacred mountains?

Christian.—I do not pray to them, for they are mountains.

Officer.—Do you pray to the idols that render sacred the kings?

Christian.—I do not pray to them, for the hand of man made them.

Officer.—Do you pray to the ancestors of the sovereigns?

Christian.—Kings and rulers are given by God, that we should serve and obey them, and render them

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs," p. 75 et seq.

homage. Nevertheless, they are only men like ourselves. When we pray, we pray to God alone.

Officer.—You make distinct, and observe the Sabbath-day?

Christian.—That is the day of the great God; for in six days the Lord made all His works. But God rested on the seventh, and He caused it to be holy; and I rest, to keep sacred that day.

There are some things in these confessions which deserve special notice. Had there been at that most exciting time, and amongst a people so recently brought out of darkness so dense into light so marvellous, left as they now were without the counsel and aid of the men from whom they had received the Gospel, some indications of ill-regulated zeal, an undue desire for a martyr's crown, or a low estimate of life and death, we might not have been surprised. But never have sufferers evinced less of irrational enthusiasm. Theirs was "a loving sacrifice," "a reasonable service." *

In all the Queen's edicts the evil practices of the Christian confessors are minutely described. The following is a copy of one of those documents:—

"These are the things which shall not be done, saith the Queen. The saying to others, Believe and obey the Gospel; the practice of baptism; the keeping of the Sabbath as a day of rest; the refusing to swear by one's father, or mother, or sister, or brother; and the refusing to be sworn, with a

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs."

stubbornness like that of bullocks, or stones, or wood; and refusing to fight or quarrel, the taking of a little bread and the juice of the grape, and asking a blessing to rest on the crown of your heads; and kneeling down upon the ground and praying, and rising from prayer with drops of water falling from your noses, and with tears rolling down from your eyes."

The following is a description of a martyrdom, taken from an authentic source, which will long be remembered in Madagascar:—

Nineteen Christians now lay under sentence of death, and their brethren knew that their execution was fixed for the morrow. What could they do for them? Let us observe their proceedings.

The midnight hour has closed a day of terror, and yet of triumph to the Christians—one of the darkest, but one of the brightest in the history of Madagascar. Though the city is still, here and there individuals and groups might have been seen quietly leaving their dwellings and stealing noiselessly along the streets. Whither are they going? The word has passed from lip to lip that they are to meet to pray for their suffering brethren. "And at one at night," writes one of those who were present, and who took part in the service, "we met together and prayed." What meaning is there in these simple words, and what power was there in the exercise they describe! Had we listened, as these devout men, with strong cryings and tears, sought aid for their beloved

brethren from Him who was able to succour and to save, how assured should we have felt that in answer to such supplications the Divine arm would be stretched out on their behalf! For evidence that thus it was, we have only to visit other spots, and gaze upon other scenes which have made that day memorable in Madagascar history, and which will cause it to be had in everlasting remembrance. The voice of prayer as it rose from the assembled believers had scarcely died away, and the light of morning had not yet appeared, when the city was all astir. Swiftly and widely had the intelligence spread on the previous evening that the decree of the Queen had gone forth, and that on the following day nineteen Christians would suffer; and great was the multitude which now hastened to the spots where these noble martyrs would demonstrate the sincerity of their faith in Jesus, and the strength of their love to His cause, by following Him in the same path of suffering which He trod, and laying down their lives for His sake.

There were two spots to be rendered almost sacred by the sufferings and the spirit of those who were cruelly sacrificed upon that day. One is called ARAPIMARINANA. The meaning of the name is, "the place of hurling down." It is in the midst of the city, and the place of execution is a precipice of granite, 150 feet high, over which condemned persons were flung. Hither, on this dreadful morning, flowed the stream of people; some prompted by the desire of

excitement, others by their hatred to the Christians, but many, no doubt, by deep sympathy; and here, crowding the dreadful spot, almost to the edge of the giddy precipice, stood the gathered throng. But let us turn from them to the prison. Meek, like their Divine Master, though seized with rude violence and flung upon the ground, no complaint escapes the sufferer's lips. But far different sounds are heard. As they sit upon the ground, with heart and voice they unite in singing a favourite hymn, which thus begins:—

"When I shall die and leave my friends,
When they shall weep for me,
When departed has my life,
Then I shall happy be!"

And when that hymn was ended they began another, the first line of which is:—

"When I shall, rejoicing, behold Him in the heavens."

But these sounds of sacred melody were now drowned by the hoarse voice of the Queen's messenger, who, in the name of Ranavolona, is pronouncing upon each the sentence they were to suffer. Four of them were nobles, two of whom were husband and wife. As it was unlawful to shed the blood of persons of their rank, they were to be burned alive, and the remaining fifteen to be thrown from "the place of hurling down." As the officer was leaving the prison, the nobles sent a request to the Queen that they might be strangled before their bodies were

burned; but even such mercy was denied. The fifteen, wrapped in mats, and with mats thrust into their mouths, to prevent their speaking to each other or to the people, were then hung by their hands and feet to poles, and carried to the place of execution. But the attempt wholly to stop their mouths failed, for they prayed and addressed the crowd as they were borne along. "And some," we are told, "who beheld them, said that their faces were like the faces of angels."

Thus they reached ARAPIMARINANA. A rope was then firmly tied round the body of each, and, one by one, fourteen of them were lowered a little way over the precipice. While in this position, and when it was hoped by their persecutors that their courage would fail, the executioner, holding a knife in his hand, stood waiting for the command of the officer to cut the rope. Then for the last time the question was addressed to them, "Will you cease to pray?" But the only answer returned was the emphatic "No." Upon this the signal was given, the rope was cut, and in another moment the mangled and bleeding body lay upon the rocks below. One of these brave sufferers for Christ, whose name was Ramonambonina, as he was led to the edge of the precipice, begged his executioners to give him a short time to pray; "for on that account," he said, "I am to be killed." His request being granted, he kneeled down and prayed aloud very earnestly; and having risen from his knees, he addressed the people with

such powerful and subduing eloquence, that all were amazed, and many struck with awe. Then, turning to his executioners, he said, "My *body* you will cast down this precipice; but my *soul* you cannot, as it will go up to heaven to God. Therefore it is gratifying to me to die in the service of my Maker." What people thought and said as they left that spot and returned to their homes, we are not told, but who can doubt that from that hour the truth of the religion of Jesus was more clearly seen, and its power more deeply felt, by some than it had been before.*

Mr. Ellis and the Bishop of Mauritius visited this spot, and the latter thus refers to it:—

"It was a very harrowing spectacle to witness the actual rock from which our brethren and sisters have been thrown with so much cruelty to meet so fearful a death; but the evidence was clear that they died with unfailing faith and triumphant hope. The brother of one of the sufferers was with us—a manly and devoted Christian he seemed to be. I saw him every day, I believe, while I was in Antananarivo, and sometimes twice a-day and oftener. He brought his children to see me, and from all that I saw of him, I was led to form the highest opinion of his straightforward, earnest, Christian character; but when he afterwards came to the spot to which the bodies had been taken to be burnt, he wept like a child at the recollection of his brother's sufferings. One severe part of the fiery trial through which these Christians

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs."

passed on to their rest with God, was their being placed where they could see the fall of their brethren, and then being asked whether they would not recant. All such attempts to move them proved ineffectual. They seemed so filled with the love of their Saviour, and with joyful hope of heaven, that they utterly despised all offers of life on such conditions. One very striking instance I heard of from an old officer of the palace, as well as from our companions on that day. A young woman, who was very beautiful and accomplished, and who was very much liked by the Queen, was placed where she could see her companions fall, and was asked, at the instance of the Queen—who wished to save her, but could not exempt her from the common sentence against the Christians—whether she would not worship the gods and save her life. She refused, manifesting so much determination to go with her brethren and sisters to heaven, that the officer standing by struck her on the head, and said, 'You are a fool! You are mad!' And they sent to the Queen and told her that she had lost her reason, and should be sent to some place of safe keeping. She was sent away, strongly guarded, into the country, some thirty miles, and afterwards was married to a Christian man, and died only two years ago, leaving two or three children behind her.*

Scene upon scene of horrid heathen persecution on the one hand, and of calm, patient, self-denying,

* For a full account of these persecutions, see "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs." London, 1863.

Christian fortitude on the other—faithful even unto death—might be presented to the reader, but our space will not permit of it. Suffice it to say that—

"Thirty-seven preachers, with their wives and families, were consigned to a life of slavery. More than a hundred were flogged with the whip, and sentenced to work in chains during their lives. Some who were made slaves might purchase back their liberty, and the liberty of their wives and children, if money enough could be found, but the slavery of others was irredeemable. Many were heavily fined, and those who had been among the great and noble of the land were stripped of their honours and titles, and not only reduced in rank, but forced to the hardest and meanest labour. Altogether, in the early spring of 1849—that fearful year which the Christians truly called the year of 'the great persecution'—1,903, according to the lowest estimate, but more probably upwards of 2,000, were punished, because they had either professed or favoured the religion of Jesus." *

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs," p. 91.

CHAPTER IX.

Diplomatic Failures—Commerce the Peacemaker — Renewal of Friendly Relations—Earnest Christians.

THE commercial history of Madagascar since the unsuccessful attack of the English and French on the fort at Tamatavé, in 1846, until 1853, may be considered a perfect blank, not only as concerning foreigners—if perhaps we except Americans on the West Coast—but even in respect to the natives themselves. Progress was at an entire standstill. Idol worship and superstition were covering the land as with a thick mantle of darkness, obscuring the little light which missionary efforts and commercial enterprise had let in upon the island. Diplomacy had tried every effort at conciliation, and at last the English and French Governments ceased to hold any communication with the Government of the Queen, Ranavolona-Manjaka.

A.D 1853.

Commerce, the daughter of necessity, cradled by want, again lifts the veil in Madagascar. What the Governments of the contending parties could not effect was amicably arranged by the peaceful merchants of both countries. At Mauritius and Réunion an effort was made by the merchants,

in concert with some of the more enlightened native chiefs in Madagascar, to bring about a reconciliation, and after much, but earnest, negotiation, it was arranged that the Government of the Queen was willing again to open the trade of Madagascar to all nations on the payment of an indemnity to the Queen of Madagascar by the merchants at Mauritius, for they were held as the prime movers of the attack on the fort at Tamatavé in 1846. This indemnity was fixed at 15,000 dollars.

Mr. Cameron, who formerly belonged to the English Mission at Antananarivo, was associated with Mr. Mangeot, a member of the Chamber of Commerce at Mauritius, and these gentlemen, accompanied by the treasure, sailed for Tamatavé, in the Nimble, on the 10th of October, and returned to Port Louis, Mauritius, on the 19th of November, 1853, having paid the sum required by the Queen as compensation for the injury inflicted on the country. The trade was now opened to the commerce of all nations; prices were to be fixed between buyer and seller; ten per cent. duty was to be levied on all exports and imports; and no natives of Madagascar were to be taken out of the country. The following is the letter establishing friendly relations with Europeans:—

"Antananarivo, 23 Asoratany, 1854
(23 Oct., 1854).

"To Messrs. J. Cameron and A. Mangeot, and the people who sent them with this payment for

the offence committed by William Kelly, and Romain Desfosses, and their companions in three ships.

"I have to inform you that I have told our superior officers, and that our superior officers have told our Queen, respecting the 15,000 dollars proposed to be paid by you for (or on account of) the offence of Romain Desfosses, and William Kelly, and their companions in three ships, you having declared that this payment gives you no claim either on the land nor on the kingdom.

"Now, in regard to the 15,000 dollars, our superior officers have directed that the money be received, so we will receive it, and the trade will be opened.

"And thus will the trade be opened. As the custom duties do not belong to others (or to subjects), but to the Queen of Madagascar, so we will take the custom duties, both on imports and exports, as formerly—for we change not.

"And in regard to the exportation of slaves beyond the sea, Radama disliked that practice, and our Queen has made no alteration; therefore, we cannot export slaves beyond the sea.

"And this also has to be told to you. A certain European, a Frenchman, has taken possession of a place at Ibaly, as a port for ships, where he is residing, and erected a house and a magazine. Our superior officers have, therefore, sent to drive him away beyond sea. We shall not kill him, but

his property shall be taken as our spoil, for he has taken possession of a port. But though we have said we shall not kill him, yet, if he kills any of the soldiers, the soldiers will kill him. And this is told to you lest you should say, Why, after trade is opened, do you again destroy the property of Europeans?

"And this also has to be told you. If any European shall land at any place within the boundary of Madagascar, where there are not soldiers stationed, and take possession of that place as a fort, such conduct will be an offence, and his property will be taken as our spoil, and he himself will be driven away beyond the sea.

"And this also has to be told you, that, as each Sovereign has established the law of the land, whether it be our Sovereign or your Sovereign, so in our land the things we do not sell are not to be shipped upon the sea; and in regard to the things you do not sell, you, of course, need not bring them for sale.

"Farewell, health, &c., to you, saith

"RAINIKIETAKA,

13 Honour, Officer of the Palace."*

Friendly relations being thus established between Madagascar and its satellites, Mauritius and Réunion,

* Mr. Viéh, President of the Chamber of Commerce at Port Louis, kindly placed this letter, and much practical information relative to Madagascar, at the disposal of the author during his visit to Mauritius, in 1859.

the peaceful missionaries—foremost among whom was the Rev. William Ellis—at once found their way into the island and an honoured welcome at Antananarivo.

Describing his first visit to Tamatavé, Mr. Ellis says that nothing struck him so much as the earnest, repeated, and importunate applications for the Scriptures and Christian books, which reached him from all quarters. "One fine-looking young officer," he writes, in a letter to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, "who had come from a distance, on hearing that we were at Tamatavé, almost wept, when, in reply to his earnest request for a book, Mr. Cameron told him that he had not a single copy left." *

While Mr. Ellis was at Mauritius, he received a letter from a Christian who had nearly lost his sight, in consequence of having devoted years in copying portions of Scripture for his Christian brethren.

One evening while at Tamatavé, two men called at Mr. Ellis's house. On being admitted, they told him that, having heard that he had brought the Bible to their land, they had travelled a long distance in order to get a copy. As they were strangers to him, he thought that possibly they might be spies, and that if he complied with their request, he might be banished from the island. He told them, therefore, that he could not give them

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs."

what they wanted then, but that they might call upon him again on the following morning. In the meantime, he made inquiries about them from some of the Christians of the place, and learned that they were excellent men, and members of a family that feared the Lord greatly; that they lived at the capital, and having come down about a hundred and fifty miles towards the coast on business, and having there heard that Mr. Ellis was at Tamatavé with the Word of God, they resolved to travel more than a hundred miles further, in the hope that they might secure this treasure for themselves. Of course Mr. Ellis was delighted to hear such a report of these worthy men, and was ready, when they came again on the following morning, to give them what they wanted. Before doing this, however, he learned from them that their family was large and scattered, but that all the members of it were Christians. When asked whether they had the Scriptures, they told Mr. Ellis that they had seen them and heard them, but all they possessed were "some of the words of David," which, however, did not belong to themselves alone, but to the whole family. He further ascertained that this sacred fragment was sent from one to another, and that each, after keeping it for a time, passed it on, until it had been read by all. Mr. Ellis then inquired whether they had these "words of David" with them. This was a question which they seemed unwilling to answer; but at length they confessed

they had. Mr. Ellis having requested to see the book, they looked at one another, and appeared as if they knew not what to do. At length one of them thrust his hand deep into his bosom, and from beneath the folds of his lamba drew forth a parcel. This he very slowly and carefully opened. One piece of cloth after another having been gently unrolled, at length there appeared a few leaves of the Book of Psalms, which the good man cautiously handed to Mr. Ellis. Though it was evident that the greatest care had been taken of them, their soiled appearance, worn edges, and other marks of frequent use, showed plainly enough how much they had been read. We can only fancy the feelings with which our friend looked upon these few dingy and well-worn leaves, revealing as they did the deep love their possessors felt for God's Word, and the diligence with which they kept and used it. Desiring to possess these precious fragments, Mr. Ellis asked the men whether they had not seen other words of David besides those which they now produced, and also the words of Jesus, and of Paul, of Peter, and of John? Yes, they replied, they had seen them and heard them read, but did not possess them. "Well, then," said Mr. Ellis, holding out the tattered leaves, "if you will give me these few words of David, I will give you *all* his words, and I will give you besides, the words of Jesus, and of John, and of Paul and of Peter." Upon this he handed to them a copy of the New

Testament and the Psalms bound together, and said, "You shall have all these if you will give me this. The men were at first amazed. Then they compared the Psalms they had with those in the book, and having satisfied themselves that all their own words of David were in it, with many more, and that besides these there were other Scriptures which they greatly desired, light beamed in their faces, they took Mr. Ellis at his word, gave him those leaves of the Book of Psalms which had so long yielded them comfort, seized the volume he offered in exchange, bade him farewell, and hastily left the house. In the course of the day he inquired after them, wishing to speak to them again, when the Christians at Tamatavé told him that, as soon as they left his house, they set out upon their long journey to the capital, doubtless "rejoicing as one that findeth great spoil." *

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs."

CHAPTER X.

The Earl of Clarendon and Madagascar — Prince Rakoto — Rainiharo — M. Laborde: some Account of his Eventful Career — M. Lambert and his Concession — Madame Ida Pfeiffer—The Conspiracy to Dethrone the Queen—Its Discovery and Fury of the Queen—Fate of the Conspirators—Death of Queen Ranavolona-Manjaka.

As soon as the intelligence reached England that
A.D. 1854. Madagascar was again open to the commerce of all nations, and especially that friendly relations were re-established between it and the Islands of Mauritius and Réunion, the English Government lost no time in coming to a satisfactory understanding with that of the French as to the relations which were to govern their future operations in connexion with Madagascar.

The Earl of Clarendon, the constant and true friend of Madagascar, was at that time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in England; and, in conjunction with Count Walewski, who held a similar appointment in France, came to an arrangement on behalf of both countries, by which it was definitively settled that neither Government was to seek for itself any advantage to the detriment of the other, but that they were for the future to act in concert, recognising fully the entire independence of Mada-

gascar, as the most just and equitable mode of keeping up friendly relations with that island and encouraging its commerce with the English and French colonies in those seas.

As we proceed with the history of Madagascar we cannot but perceive the great benefit conferred upon its people by the enlightened policy of Lord Clarendon and the credit reflected on the Governments of France and England by loyally upholding this mutually beneficial arrangement.

In Madagascar the laws regarding marriage and progeny are of a stranger kind than anywhere else in the world: "Thus, for instance, a man may divorce his wife and take another as often as he chooses. The woman may live with another man, though she may not marry again; but all the children born to her after she has been separated from her husband are looked upon as belonging to him; the second husband has not the slightest claim to them, and the mother is compelled to deliver them up to her first husband immediately upon his claiming them. When a man dies, too, any children his widow may afterwards have, are looked upon as his; and it is in consequence of this law that Prince Rakoto, son of Queen Ranavolona, though he was born long after King Radama's death, is looked upon as the son of that monarch." *

Prince Rakoto had a rival in his cousin Rambosalama, who was the son of the Queen's sister, and

* Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," p. 158.

brother of Rakoto's wife; consequently the Prince's brother-in-law as well as cousin. This man had been nominated as her successor by the Queen at the commencement of her reign; but when the unexpected birth of a son gave a rightful heir to the throne of the Hovas—viz., the son of the late King's wife—Rambosalama lost his title. Between Rakoto and Rambosalama there were constant rivalries, and while the former was now declared by the Queen her successor, and invested with the title of Prince of Madagascar, the latter, resolute, contriving, and unscrupulous, gained over to his side the Queen's chief adviser, Rainiharo, and many who stood near the throne, and with the assistance of the Idol party, held considerable influence with the Queen, whom he closely resembled in his hatred of the Christians.

On the other hand, Prince Rakoto had always shown himself friendly to the Christians, and the gentleness of his heart had often averted from them death in its most appalling form, as decreed by the Queen and her advisers. The following instance illustrates these features of the Prince's character: One morning while at breakfast with his friends, a woman in tears entered the room, and casting herself at his feet, told him that many people in her village had been condemned to die, amongst whom were her husband and children, and prayed that he would save their lives. Instantly he ordered some of his attendants to go and deliver the poor people from their terrible fate. They hastened to the spot, but

soon returned to say that the prison was surrounded by so many soldiers, that it was impossible for them to get near it. On hearing this, the Prince mounted his horse and rode with haste to the village. As soon as he reached it, he proceeded to the prison, spoke to the guards in an authoritative tone, seized the sword of the officer in command, forced his way to the condemned persons, broke their chains, and told them to make their escape. Then turning to the officer, who stood silent and astonished at the rapidity and boldness of this movement, the Prince said to him, "Should any one inquire who has done this, tell him that it was the son of the Queen; but do not name it until the prisoners are out of reach."

Gradually the example of Rakoto began to operate; and on the opening of Madagascar again, in 1853, there was a marked change in the manner of the Queen. Though still "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," her violence was at this time restrained. This, doubtless, may be ascribed in part to the influence of her son, Prince Rakoto, to the Prince Ramonja, and to other Christian nobles, with whose assistance, in the conduct of the Government, she could not dispense. But the chief cause was the death of Rainiharo, her chief minister and great favourite. From the commencement of the persecution this implacable man had been forward to advise and execute the most severe measures against the hated Christians, and in him the Queen ever found a ready

instrument of her will. But the close of his direful career gave the Christians a brief respite from her persecution, and awakened a hope that their deliverance drew nigh. What confirmed this hope was the fact that Roharo, Rainiharo's son, who was a friend of the Prince, and through Rakoto's influence commander of the forces, had joined himself to them. Nor was this all. Left without her chief counsellor, and feeling the effects of age and disease, the Queen from this time leaned more than ever upon her son, and to some extent shared the Government with him. In 1853, indeed, it was believed that she had resolved to abdicate in his favour; and this was so positively stated, that the Directors of the London Missionary Society appealed to their friends for the means of resuming the mission, and sent Messrs. Ellis and Cameron to Madagascar to employ such measures as might be necessary for this purpose. But these hopes were not realised. Nevertheless, the intelligence obtained by Mr. Ellis, both on this and two subsequent visits, was not only of great value, but such as justified the hope that the time to favour Madagascar was at hand.*

It was at this juncture in the affairs of Madagascar that a European, M. J. Lambert, made his appearance at Antananarivo, whose conduct has had considerable influence on the future of that island, and caused, in the first place, the destruction of the amiable prince, who too easily fell a victim to

* "Madagascar: Its Mission and its Martyrs," p. 100.

his designs. Before fully introducing him to the reader, it will be necessary somewhat to allude to the career of one of his countrymen who may be considered as his pioneer in Madagascar—viz., M. J. Laborde :—

"Our host, M. Laborde, favoured us with the following account of his life :—

"He was born in France, and is the son of a well-to-do saddler. In his youth he served for several years as a cavalry soldier in the French army ; but being always prompted by a desire to see something of the world, he gave up the service after his father's death, found a substitute, and embarked for the East Indies. In Bombay he established several workshops, repaired steam-engines, manufactured weapons, set up saddlery, and did very good business ; but his restless spirit would not let him remain long in one place, so he gave up his workshops to a friend, and in the year 1831 shipped himself off to the Indian Archipelago. The ship, driven out of its course by a storm, was wrecked on the coast of Madagascar. M. Laborde not only lost all he possessed, but his liberty into the bargain ; for, as is well known, all shipwrecked men are made slaves of in this hospitable island. M. Laborde was taken, with a few of his companions in misfortune, to Antananarivo to be sold.

"Fortunately, tidings of his skill in manufacturing weapons and other articles reached the Queen's ears. She sent for him to Court, and

promised him his freedom if he would serve her faithfully for five years. M. Laborde did this. He established a workshop, and furnished the Queen with all kinds of weapons, even to little cannons, and also with powder and other articles. In spite of her general hatred to Europeans, he gained the Queen's confidence, and she soon got to value him so highly, that she took his advice in several important affairs, and he succeeded, not unfrequently, in dissuading her from pronouncing sentences of death.

"But it is not only in the Queen's estimation that M. Laborde stands high; the people and the nobility also set great store by him; for his many good qualities have made him popular everywhere, and all who need counsel or help come to him, and never come in vain; he is physician, confidential friend, and helper to them all.

"The five years M. Laborde was to pass in the Queen's service extended to ten. His patroness gave him house and homes, lands and slaves; and as he is married to a native woman, and has a son by his marriage, he will probably remain here to the end of his life, though he has long been free and independent, and may leave the island whenever he chooses to do so.

"Besides his manufactories for arms and powder, this industrious man has also established works for glass-blowing, indigo-dyeing, soap and tallow-boiling, and a distillery for rum. He wished also to

stock the island with European fruits and vegetables, and most of those he planted flourished wonderfully, but his example remained unfollowed. The natives preferred to live on in their pristine indolence, and to continue eating nothing but rice, with the addition of a piece of beef now and then.

"If M. Laborde, however, did not succeed in producing all the results he expected from his undertakings, they have at least done good service in showing the capability of this beautiful land for cultivation."*

From the foregoing opinion of M. Laborde by an observing woman who had seen him and was able to appreciate the position he held at the capital, it will be at once perceived that he was most favourably circumstanced for introducing a countryman at the Court of Antananarivo. M. Laborde, who had long been acquainted with M. J. Lambert, welcomed and introduced him to Prince Rakoto in 1854.

Appearing to be greatly disgusted with the Queen's cruelties, he sought to induce Prince Rakoto to dethrone his mother and seek a French Protectorate. It is said—and we think with good reason—that he obtained from him a proposal to that effect, of the full meaning of which the Prince, from his ignorance of the language, and his condition at the time of signing the proposal, was not aware.†

* Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," p. 204 et seq.

† "France and Madagascar," in the *British Quarterly Review*, No. LXXVII., January 1, 1864.

It is certain that subsequent to this date—viz., in 1856—the Prince was unacquainted with the true meaning of a Protectorate, for Mr. Ellis states: "In the course of our conversation the Prince asked what was the true meaning of *protection*, as in the case of one nation being under the protection of another nation. This kind of protection I endeavoured to explain to him, as well as I could, as being a sort of modified sovereignty, under the protecting Power, while leaving the people of the protected State to be governed to a certain extent by their own rulers and people, to the exclusion of all other foreign influence."*

M. Lambert bore this proposal from Prince Rakoto to France; but the French Government, acting in good faith, sent him to the British Government. The Earl of Clarendon, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, granted M. Lambert an interview, but put an end to the matter by refusing to co-operate with France in the project.†

Foiled in his effort to establish a French Protectorate in Madagascar, M. Lambert determined to secure something for himself, and returning to Antananarivo, he obtained from Rakoto—then Prince Royal of Madagascar, but not the sovereign, nor delegated by the Queen to act for her—a concession dated June 28, 1855. The extent of the privileges

* "Visits to Madagascar," p. 350.

† "France and Madagascar," in the *British Quarterly Review*, No. LXXVII., January 1, 1864.

it was supposed to convey will be best understood by a statement of some of its items :—

"Chap. I.—We authorise J. Lambert to form a company, having for its object the working of the mines of Madagascar, the forests, and the lands situated on the coasts and the interior. The said company shall have the right of making roads, canals, building yards, establishments of public utility, of coining money with the King's effigy—in a word, it shall do all that it may deem calculated to promote the good of the country.

"Chap. II., Art. 1.—We grant and cede to the company the exclusive privilege of working all the mines in Madagascar, including those already known, and those which may be hereafter discovered.

"Art. 2.—We grant and concede equally to the said company, as well for itself as for those whom it may admit to take part in it, the privilege of choosing, on all the coasts and in the interior of the country, any unoccupied lands to be put into cultivation. In consequence, the company shall become proprietors of the lands which it shall have chosen, as soon as it shall give us notice of having taken possession of them.

"Art. 3.—The company shall not pay any duties upon the ore produced, nor upon the profits made upon it.

"Art. 4.—The produce of the working of the mines of Madagascar and upon cultivation shall enjoy the privilege of free exportation without duty.

Its (the company's) property shall not be liable to be burdened with imposts. What shall be brought in for the company shall pay no duty.

"Art. 5.—We relinquish to this company all the mines of Soatsimanampiovana, so as to put them into condition for the immediate employment of labourers. We also give to the company the house of Soaniérana, to establish there the head-quarters of its administration." *

M. Lambert having thus induced the weak Rakoto to make him a complete gift of the whole of Madagascar, returned to Paris for the purpose of carrying out this commercial conquest of the island; but being convinced after some short stay in France that the financiers were not satisfied with the security which he was prepared to offer them—viz., the concession of Prince Rakoto—he determined to return to Antananarivo, endeavour to dethrone the Queen, raise Rakoto to the throne, and then to obtain from him, as King of Madagascar, a confirmation of the concession of the 28th June, 1855.

Having collected many costly presents for the Queen and the Prince, he returned to Madagascar on the 13th May, 1857, on which occasion he was accompanied by Madame Ida Pfeiffer, who entered heartily into the plot for dethroning the Queen, and has laid bare the cunning and duplicity of her friend,

* "Compagnie de Madagascar, Fonciere, Industrielle, et Commerciale," pp. 29, 30.

with the most amusing *naïveté*.* Madame Ida Pfeiffer states that—

"M. Lambert had bought the presents for the Queen and her Court with his own money, and not, as they asserted in the Mauritius, with funds from the French Government. The presents consisted of full and expensive toilettes for the Queen and some of the Princesses, her relations, rich uniforms embroidered with gold for Prince Rakoto, and valuable art objects of all kinds, including several musical clocks, barrel organs, and similar toys. On these presents M. Lambert had spent more than 200,000 francs. For the conveyance of these treasures to the capital more than four hundred persons were required." †

"At the same time that M. Lambert was to arrive at Antananarivo Pére Jouen, Préfet Apostolique of Madagascar, and the head of the Jesuit Mission in that island and its neighbourhood, would visit that capital disguised as a trader.

"In Dalrymple Bay M. Lambert had a vessel anchored, by which the Hova chiefs whose aid he expected might escape to the neighbouring Island of Mohilla, in the event of failure; and, in fact, every precaution was taken to secure success in the contemplated expedition which was to give Madagascar to France at last.

* "France and Madagascar," in the *British Quarterly Review*, No. LXXVII. p. 228.

† Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," p. 170.

"Being apprised of the whole of the above circumstances, I sent letters from Mozambique to Madame Ida Pfeiffer, in the hope that she would be warned in time, and not take part in such an enterprise, as it was well known in Madagascar that this travelling lady was going to visit the island from England."*

On the 30th May, M. Lambert and Madame Ida Pfeiffer arrived at the capital, and were welcomed by M. Laborde. "Our friendly host immediately introduced two Europeans to us, the only ones then staying at Antananarivo. The two gentlemen were clergymen; one of them had been living for two years, the other for seven months, in M. Laborde's house. *It was not the time to appear as missionaries, and they concealed the fact of their belonging to a mission very carefully*, the Prince and the Europeans being the only persons admitted into the secret. One passes as a physician, the other as a tutor to M. Laborde's son, who had come back two years since from Paris, where he had been sent by his father to be educated."† The reader will at once perceive Père Jouen and his companion.

The extraordinary influence that M. Lambert had obtained over the amiable but weak Prince Rakoto may be gathered from the following :—

"Before we had nearly concluded our pleasant meal, while champagne was being handed round, and

* McLeod's "Eastern Africa," Vol. II., pp. 198, 199.

† Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," p. 206.

the toasts were beginning, a slave came running up in hot haste to announce the approach of Prince Rakoto. We rose hastily from table, but had little time to go and meet the Prince, for in his impatience to see M. Lambert he had followed close at the slave's heels. The two men held each other in a long embrace, but for some time neither of them could find a word to express his joy. It was easy to see that a deep and true friendship existed between them, and we who stood round could not view the scene without feelings of pleasurable emotion."*

After describing the appearance of the Prince, Madame Ida Pfeiffer continues :—

"The following words, which I heard from his own mouth, speak more eloquently than my pen could do the praises of this really noble man. He declared it to be a matter of indifference to him whether the French or the English, or any other nation, took possession of the island, if only the people were properly governed. For himself, he wished neither for the throne nor for the regal title, and would at any time be ready to give a written abdication of his claims, and retire and live as a private man, if he could by such a course ensure the prosperity of the people.

"I must confess that this declaration moved me deeply, and inspired me with a high respect for this Prince—such respect as I feel for very few human beings. To my mind a man of such senti-

* Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," pp. 207, 208.

ments is greater than the most prominent among the ambitious and egotistical monarchs of Europe."*

The Queen received M. Lambert and his companions with great hospitality, inviting them to partake of the *Lambas-sambas,* a dish made of fine strips of beef boiled in fat and rice. And although the Queen's presents generally consist of eggs and poultry, she added thereto oxen as a special mark of her favour towards M. Lambert. He was further invited to a grand review, and banquets were given in his honour by the relatives of the Queen. On the 6th of June M. Laborde gave a grand dinner in honour of Prince Rakoto, in his garden-house, situated at the foot of the hill. "The dinner-party was very cheerful. I had never seen M. Lambert in such excellent spirits; as for the Prince, he seems always in good humour. After dinner, M. Lambert and M. Laborde held a short political discussion with the Prince in another room. I was admitted to take part in this conversation, and shall have to recur to it. . . .

"About ten o'clock, M. Laborde whispered to me that I should allege the weakness that still remained from my late indisposition as a pretext for breaking up the party. I replied that this was not my province, but that of Prince Rakoto; but he urged me to do it, adding that he had a particular reason for his request, which he would explain to me later; and accordingly I broke up the party.

* Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," pp. 213, 214.

"Favoured by the brightest of moonlight, we marched up the hill towards our dwellings to the sound of merry music.

"Prince Rakoto and M. Lambert then called me into a side chamber, and the Prince declared to me once more that the private contract between himself and M. Lambert had been drawn up with his full concurrence, and that he, the Prince, had been grossly calumniated when he was represented as intoxicated at the time of signing it. He told me further that M. Lambert had come to Madagascar by his wish, and with the intention, in conjunction with himself and a portion of the nobility and soldiers, to remove Queen Ranavolona from the throne, but without depriving her of her freedom, her wealth, or the honours which were her due. M. Lambert, on his part, informed me that we had dined in M. Laborde's garden-house because everything could be more quietly discussed there; and that I had been requested to break up the party, that the little feast might seem to have been given in my honour; finally, that we had gone through the town with the noisy music, as a sign that the object of our meeting had been social amusement.

"He then showed me in the house a complete little arsenal of sabres, daggers, pistols, and guns, wherewith to arm the conspirators, and leather shirts of mail for resisting lance-thrusts; and told me in conclusion, that all preparations had been

made, and the time for action had almost come—in fact, I might expect it every hour.

"I confess that a strange feeling came over me when I found myself thus suddenly involved in a political movement of grave importance; and at the first moment a crowd of conflicting thoughts rushed through my brain. I could not conceal from myself the fact that, if the affair failed, my life would be in the same danger as M. Lambert's; for in a country like Madagascar, where everything depends on the despotic will of the ruler, no trouble is taken to determine the question of guilty or not guilty. I had come to Antananarivo in the company of one of the chief conspirators; I had also been present at several meetings; more was not required to make me an accomplice in the plot, and therefore just as worthy of punishment as the active members themselves.

"My friends in the Mauritius had certainly warned me previously against undertaking the journey in M. Lambert's company; and from what had been reported there, and likewise from some scattered words which M. Lambert had let fall from time to time, I was able to form an idea of what was going on; but my wish to obtain a knowledge of Madagascar was so great, that it stifled all fear. Now, indeed, there was no drawing back; and the best I could do was to put a good face upon a bad matter, and trust in that Providence which had already helped me in many and great dangers." *

* Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," pp. 258—60.

Madame Ida Pfeiffer soon afterwards retired to rest, and, with a troubled conscience, dreamed a horrid dream, somewhat foreshadowing coming events.

On the 8th June Prince Rakoto held a grand Kabar of all his friends. On the following day the Queen gave a grand fancy ball in honour of M. Lambert, which made Madame Pfeiffer remark :—

"What strange contrasts! On one side a conspiracy hatching—on the other, festivals are the order of the day!

"Does the Queen really doubt the existence of the treaty between Prince Rakoto and M. Lambert, and has she no suspicion of its intended accomplishment? or does she wish to let the conspirators commit some overt act, that she may afterwards satiate her revenge with apparent justice. Events will show."

The failure of the *coup d'etat* is thus described by Madame Pfeiffer :—

"June 20.—This was at length to be the great and decisive day. M. Lambert was nearly recovered from the fever; so there was to be no more delay, and to-night the long-contemplated *coup d'etat* was to be carried out.

"The two missionaries, who were not to appear to bear any part in these political disturbances, went in the morning to one of the possessions of M. Laborde, distant thirty miles from the capital. It was proposed to send me there too; but I preferred

remaining at Antananarivo, for I thought, if the attempt should fail, it would not be difficult to find my head, even if I were a hundred miles from the capital.

"The following plan had been devised by the conspirators: The Prince was to dine at eight o'clock in the evening with M. Lambert, Marius, Laborde, and his son, in the garden-house belonging to the latter, and thither all reports from the other conspirators were to be carried, that it might be known if everything was progressing favourably, and that every man was at his post. At the conclusion of dinner, at eleven o'clock at night, the gentlemen were to march home to the upper part of the town, accompanied by music, as if they came from a feast; and each man was to remain quiet in his own house until two o'clock. At the latter hour all the conspirators were to slip silently into the palace, the gates of which Prince Raharo, the chief of the army, was to keep open and guarded by officers devoted to Prince Rakoto; they were to assemble in the great courtyard, in front of the apartments inhabited by the Queen, and at a given signal loudly to proclaim Prince Rakoto king. The new Ministers, who had already been nominated by the Prince, were to explain to the Queen that this was the will of the nobles, the military, and the people; and at the same time the thunder of cannon from the Royal Palace was to announce to the people the change in the Government, and the

deliverance from the sanguinary rule of Queen Ranavolona.

"Unhappily, this plan was not carried out. It was frustrated by the cowardice or treachery of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. While the gentlemen were still at table, they received from him the disastrous news that, in consequence of unforeseen obstacles, he had found it impossible to fill the palace exclusively with officers devoted to the Prince's interest, that he would consequently be unable to keep the gates open to-night, and that the attempt must be deferred for a more favourable opportunity. In vain did the Prince send messenger after messenger to him. He could not be induced to risk anything." *

It appears that in the year 1856 Prince Rakoto had placed himself at the head of a similar conspiracy, and when the night and the hour had arrived the project failed through the sudden defection of the Commander-in-Chief, giving ground for the suspicion that he had on that occasion acted false to Rakoto, and that he was a partisan of Rambosalama. How great a folly to have again reposed confidence in Raharo!

From the 20th June until the 1st July the conspirators were in sad anxiety, gradually discovering the extent to which the Queen had become acquainted with their design. Madame Pfeiffer writes:—

* Madame Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," pp. 278—280.

"July 2.—What will become of us! The carrying out of the design seems to have become impracticable, for from the day when the Commander-in-Chief refused to open the doors of the palace, one after another of the conspirators have fallen away, and traitors and spies surround us on all sides. Ever since the 20th of June, hardly any one associates with us; we are looked upon partly as State prisoners, and we are compelled to remain the whole day long in our houses, and dare not so much as set foot across the threshold.

"The best proof that the Queen is perfectly well-informed of the conspiracy, and only pretends to know nothing about it, for the sake of her son, of whom she is very fond, appears in the fact of her having, a few days since, forbidden every one, on pain of death, to make any accusation whatever against the Prince, or to impart any surmise of his guilt to her.

"This trait is worthy of the cunning character of her race. Having taken all necessary measures, and convinced herself that the power of the conspirators is broken, and that she has nothing to fear, she seeks to hide her son's fault from the people."

At last the Queen showed symptoms of the coming storm. Early in the morning of the 3rd July, the people were called together, and summoned to appear at a certain hour in the bazaar, to be present at a great Kabar to be held there. This

news spread terror among the people, for they knew well that, during this reign at least, in Madagascar the assembling of a Kabar meant persecution and torture, the prelude to sentences of death. "There was a general howling and wailing, a rushing and running through the streets, as if the town had been attacked by a hostile army." *

At length the dreaded hour arrived. Thousands of people, strongly guarded, were huddled together in the principal square of the capital, and when all was in readiness a Queen's messenger delivered, with a loud voice, and amidst the breathless silence of the multitude, the following message from Ranavolona-Manjaka :—

That the Queen had long suspected that there were many Christians amongst her people, and that, within the last few days, she had discovered that several thousands of them dwelt in and around the capital; that every one knew how she hated this sect, and how strictly she had forbidden the practice of their religion; that she should do her utmost to discover the guilty, and would punish them with the greatest severity; and that all should die who did not, within fifteen days, submit themselves to her pleasure.

From their experience of the Queen's clemency on a former occasion, the unhappy Christians who confessed their crime within the period named had

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs," p. 104. Madame Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," p. 294.

their lives spared, according to the letter of the promise, but were fettered heavily, and subsequently perished miserably.

The denouncer of the Christians was a Hova, by name Ratsimandisa, who, in order to win the favour of the Queen, had pretended to adopt the Christian religion. This traitor had in his possession a complete list of those Christians who resided in the capital. Fortunately, it did not occur to him to seek an audience of the Queen, and to deliver this list into her own hands. He gave it to one of the Queen's Ministers, who was a firm friend of Prince Rakoto, and he hesitated to deliver a document of such importance to the Queen without first telling the Prince of the circumstances. No sooner had the latter perused the document than he tore it into pieces, and announced that any one who dared to make out a second list of Christians, or even to accept one, with the intention of laying it before the Government, should be immediately put to death. This courageous act of the Prince saved, for a time, the lives of thousands of the Christians; by it they had an opportunity of escaping to the mountains and to the forests, but it is feared that many of them perished miserably—victims to hunger and exposure to the elements.

To increase the misfortunes of the Christians in the capital at this period, an English missionary, Mr. Lebrun, had come from the Mauritius to Tamatave for a few days, shortly before Ratsi-

mandisa's treason, and had written letters from Tamatavé to several Christians in Antananarivo, exhorting them to be firm in the faith, and seeking to strengthen their courage with the assurance that the day of persecution would not last much longer, and that better times would soon come for them. Unfortunately, a few of these letters fell into the hands of the Government; others were found during the search instituted in the houses of those suspected of Christianity; and as the names of several Christians were mentioned in these letters, to whom the missionary sent messages or greeting through the recipients, these at least could be seized. The unhappy people were tortured in all kinds of ways, like the Protestants of Spain in the days of the Inquisition, to induce them to give up the names of the Christians they knew, and the Government succeeded in capturing a tolerable number in the first few days.*

Six days after the promulgation of her decree the Queen heard that comparatively few of the Christians had been apprehended. This made her more furious than ever, her insane rage knew no bounds. "The bowels of the earth," she said, "shall be searched, and the rivers and lakes shall be dragged with nets, rather than that one Christian shall escape."† New orders were issued to the army to search for the fugitive Christians; not only Pro-

* Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," p. 297.
† Ibid, p. 302.

testants, but Roman Catholics, were ordered to be destroyed. In a village situated among the Sackalaves, on the West Coast, five Roman Catholic missionaries had established themselves for about five years. Fifteen hundred soldiers were despatched to seize them and their converts; but the messenger of the good Rakoto had preceded the Queen's troops, and when the latter appeared they found deserted huts.

The first victim to the fury of the Queen was an aged Christian female, who, before the time given for self-accusation had expired, was dragged to the market-place, the scene of the late Kabar, and there, horrible to relate, her backbone was sawn asunder.* This was on the 11th July, eight days after the holding of the Kabar. The next morning six more Christians were seized at a village not far from the capital. Their concealment had been skilfully contrived. The soldiers had searched the hut in which they were hid, and were about to retire, when one of them stated that he heard some one coughing. The party of the Queen renewed their search, and beneath some straw they discovered a large hole, in which the hunted Christians were concealed. To seize, bind, and drag them away to their doom was the work of a few minutes; but the commanding officer, not satisfied with this, seized the whole of the villagers who had been privy to the concealment of the fugitives—thus striking terror far and wide into the hearts of the people.

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs," p. 107.

It was said by those who saw her, that the Queen had never before given way to such ungovernable outbursts of rage as now; and that at no former period had her purpose to exterminate the Christians been so fixed and furious. Her Ministers and the idol worshippers impressed upon her that this attempt to revolutionise the island by M. Lambert was the work of the peaceful Christians, and as her advisers made the Sikidy, or oracle, which she constantly consulted, to declare their own views and wishes, it was reported to the Queen that nothing but the entire extermination of the Christians could save the country from anarchy, and her own dynasty from destruction.

Fortunate, then, for the fugitives was it that the list of Christians had fallen into the hands of Prince Rakoto. Ever since the discovery of the conspiracy she had held him a constant prisoner by her side, stating that she was in great danger, and required all his aid. By this means she entirely disarmed him, and prevented him holding personal communication with the other conspirators. But during this time the Prince was not idle. The liberation of many who had been apprehended must be attributed to him, amongst whom may be numbered several of the villagers who had connived at the concealment of their Christian neighbours. The marvel and the great mercy was that during this period of persecution the Prince himself escaped; but his savage mother seemed dead to

every human feeling save one—the love of her son.

"None are all evil—quickening round *her* heart,
One softer feeling would not yet depart.
. . . . . .
Yet 'gainst that passion vainly still *she* strove,
And even in *her* it asks the name of love!"

This instinct was the instrument which God used for the preservation of Rakoto's own life, and through him the lives of His servants.*

On the 7th July, the Queen hearing that M. Lambert had a relapse of the fever from which he had been suffering since the failure of the *coup d'etat*, sent confidential officers five or six times in the day —different envoys each time—to ask after his health, evidently impressed with the belief that the illness was simulated, for the officers always asked to be taken into his room and to see him.

Meanwhile, M. Laborde was warned by a confidential slave of Prince Rakoto to secrete all correspondence, for his house would be searched by the Queen's commands. Madame Pfeiffer writes July 10 :—

"To-day our gates were suddenly opened, and about a dozen officers of high rank, with a large train, came into the courtyard. We thought they were coming to make the search of which the Prince had warned us; but, to our great astonishment, they explained to M. Lambert that they had been sent

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs," p. 108.

by the Queen to receive the costly presents which he had brought with him for her and her Court.

"M. Lambert at once had the chests brought out and unpacked; the contents were placed according to their various destinations, in great baskets, which the slaves who accompanied the officers at once carried off to the palace. A few of the officers went away with the bearers; the others walked into our reception-room, conversed for a few moments with M. Laborde and M. Lambert, and then very politely took their leave."

It appears that on the 16th July a great Kabar was held in the Queen's palace. It lasted six hours, and the discussion was very stormy. This Kabar concerned the Europeans, and the fate of the conspirators was debated. It was unanimously resolved that they deserved to be punished with death. Some voted for a public execution in the market-place, others for a nocturnal attack on M. Laborde's house, while a third party proposed a banquet at which the Europeans were to be poisoned or murdered at a given signal.

The Queen was undecided between these various proposals, when Prince Rakoto spoke with great energy against the sentence of death. He warned the Queen not to let her anger and resentment lead her astray, and expressed his conviction that the European Powers would not allow the execution of six Europeans without retaliation. He pointed out that friendly relations had only just

been re-established between Madagascar and England and France, and that such sanguinary conduct as the contemplated execution must at once close Madagascar to the commerce of all nations. The Prince is said never to have spoken with such warmth and energy to the Queen as on this occasion. Madame Pfeiffer writes :—

"July 17.—Our captivity had already lasted thirteen long days—for thirteen long days we had lived in the most trying suspense as to our impending fate, expecting every moment to hear some fatal news, and alarmed day and night at every slight noise. It was a terrible time.

"This morning I was sitting at my writing table. I had just put down my pen, and was thinking that, after the last Kabar, the Queen must at the least have come to some decision, when suddenly I heard an unusual stir in the courtyard.

"I was hastily quitting my room, the windows of which were in the opposite direction, to see what was the matter, when M. Laborde came to meet me with the announcement that a great Kabar was being held in the courtyard, and that we Europeans were summoned to be present thereat.

"We went accordingly, and found more than a hundred persons—judges, nobles, and officers—sitting in a large half-circle on benches and chairs, and some on the ground; behind them stood a number of soldiers. One of the officers received us, and made us sit down opposite the judges. These

judges were shrouded in long simbus, their glances rested gloomily and gravely upon us, and for a considerable time there was deep silence. I confess to having felt somewhat alarmed, and whispered to M. Laborde, 'I think our last hour has come!' His reply was, 'I am prepared for everything.'

"At length one of the ministers or judges rose, and in sepulchral tones, embellished with a multitude of high-sounding epithets, he spoke somewhat to the following effect, telling us—

"The people had heard that we were republicans, and that we had come to Madagascar with the intention of introducing a similar form of government here; that we intended to overturn the throne of their beloved ruler, to give the people equal rights with the nobility, and to abolish slavery; also, that we had had several interviews with the Christians—a sect equally obnoxious to the Queen and the people—and had exhorted them to hold fast to their faith, and to expect speedy succour. These treasonable proceedings, he continued, had so greatly exasperated the natives against us, that the Queen had been compelled to treat us as prisoners, as a protection against the popular indignation. The whole population of Antananarivo was clamouring for our death; but as the Queen had never yet deprived a white person of life, she would abstain in this instance also, though the crimes we had committed could fully have justified her in such a course. In her magnanimity and mercy, she had accordingly

decided to limit our punishment to perpetual banishment from her territories.

"M. Lambert, M. Marius, and two other Europeans who lived at M. Laborde's, and myself, were accordingly to depart from the city within an hour. M. Laborde might remain twenty-four hours longer; and, in consideration of his former services, he was to be allowed to take away all his property that was not fixed, with the exception of his slaves. These, with his houses, estates, &c., were to revert to the Queen, by whose bounty they had been bestowed on him. With regard to his son, inasmuch as the youth was a native by the mother's side, and might be supposed, on account of his tender years, to have taken no part in the conspiracy, it should be optional with him either to remain in the island, or to quit it with us.

"The Queen would allow us and M. Laborde also as many bearers as we required to carry us and our property, and, as a measure of precaution, she would cause us to be escorted by a company of soldiers, consisting of fifty privates, twenty officers, and a commandant. M. Laborde would have a similar escort, and was commanded always to keep at least one day's journey in our rear."*

Thus ended M. Lambert's scheme for revolutionising Madagascar and establishing a French Protectorate in the island. On this occasion Prince Rakoto's life was spared, in consequence of the in-

* Ida Pfeiffer's "Last Travels," p. 313—316.

tense love of his mother, the Queen; but the eyes of the native chiefs were now opened to the extraordinary influence which M. Lambert had obtained over the Prince, and they saw with anxiety for the future how entirely the heir to the throne was under the influence of a foreigner, whose declared object was to bring their beloved country under a foreign yoke. Although the Prince, shielded by his mother, had escaped the resentment of the Hova chiefs, they nursed their wrongs, and, as events will show at the proper time, meted out to him the due reward of his treason to the Malagasy people. The morning after the *dénouement* of the conspiracy at Antananarivo, M. Lambert and his companions were hurried away from the capital, but not to reach the coast so early as they anticipated. The ordinary journey from the capital to Tamatavé is about eight days; but by the Queen's commands the conspirators were detained in the most unhealthy portions of the route, in swamps, jungles, and morasses, so that the malignant fever of the country might destroy them; and after numerous delays in the malaria districts, they were at last permitted to reach Tamatavé, fifty-three days after leaving Antananarivo. Wasted by disease and want, mere shadows of their former selves, they at last embarked, on the 16th September, on board the brig Castro; Captain Schneider, bound for Mauritius. A warning to Europeans that if the cautious policy of the Malagasy Government forbids the shedding of

the white man's blood, yet that there are other means of putting an end to foreign interference in the Government of the island. Madame Ida Pfeiffer never recovered the effects of the Madagascar fever. She indeed reached Europe, but it was only to arrive in her native country to die. From this time the Government of the Queen narrowly watched the movements of all strangers in Madagascar. The persecution of the Christians under such circumstances could not but be lasting, although they were greatly modified by the unceasing vigilance of their constant friend, Prince Rakoto.

Ranavolona, the Queen of Madagascar, was of advanced age, and her reign had extended to thirty-three years. But the day of her death drew near. For several weeks during the summer her strength rapidly failed, and at last, on the 23rd of August, 1861, the persecutor of Madagascar ceased to exist.

CHAPTER XI.

Precautions for the Safety of the Crown Prince—Accession of Prince Rakotond and Imprisonment of Rambosalama—Joy of the Christians—Embassies from England and France—Coronation of the King and Queen—Treaties of Commerce and Friendship—Radama II. abandons himself to Drunkenness and Debauchery—Machinations of the Idol Party and proposed Massacre of the Christians—Revolution of 1863—Death of the King—Accession of Queen Rabodo and Constitution of May 12th, 1863.

ABOUT a month previous to the death of Ranavolona-Manjaka, Radama Rakotond, her son, and the supposed posthumous child of her late husband Radama I., began to adopt stringent measures for the protection of himself and his friends from the machinations of his rival and the idol party. Nominated by the Queen as her successor in the Government, he was opposed by his cousin, Rambosalama, the son of the Queen's sister, and also his own brother-in-law, who, previous to the birth of Radama, had been adopted by the then childless Ranavolona.

It was confidently reported and commonly believed that Rambosalama had hired assassins to remove his only obstacle in the path to power, and that more than once these wretched men had confessed to Radama their meditated crime. Be this

as it may, it is certain that the Prince and his friends knew the purpose and probably the plots of his rivals. Among those upon whom Radama placed his chief reliance was Prince Roharo, the commander of the forces, but who, it will be remembered, had failed in opening the gates of the palace to the Prince when he was engaged in the Lambert plot.* The second officer in command was also one of the Prince's warm supporters.

Aware of his cousin's proceedings, Rambosalama at this time showed signs of great distrust. He seldom left his house, and never entered the palace without being armed and accompanied by armed followers. On the Commander-in-Chief being apprised of this circumstance, he immediately issued an order that no armed person should enter the royal residence; the Crown Prince and himself being among the first who submitted to the search. Another precaution employed was to conceal the orders and the "parole" which gained access through the guards of the palace. This knowledge was purposely withheld from Rainijoary and other influential nobles, who, abandoning the hope of seeing Rambosalama on the throne and the idol party triumphant, deemed it prudent to make terms with the Prince, and promised to submit to Radama Rakotond as the Queen's successor.

At length the 23rd of August, 1861, dawned upon the city of Antananarivo; Madagascar and its

* See Chapter X., p. 156.

idols had lost their Queen; and the anxious Christians heard that, after thirty-three years of tyranny and oppression, Ranavolona-Manjaka had been summoned to stand before the Judge of all the earth.

Soon an immense crowd filled every avenue and approach to the palace. These were the armed partizans of Rambosalama, waiting for the preconcerted signal to fall upon the guards, massacre Radama and his followers, and declare their own chief successor to the Queen and protector of the idols. But while the son was weeping at the death-bed of that mother who, with all her faults, intensely loved him, Radama's faithful friend, the commander of the forces, had his keen eye fixed upon every movement of Rambosalama. He knew his plans and his partizans; watched his movements within the palace; followed him from the chamber of death; and seized him while in the act of giving the preconcerted signal to the conspirators. Then, by Roharo's orders, a trumpet was sounded, and more than a thousand soldiers, who were awaiting this summons, marched with quickened steps to the palace. Radama Rakotond became thus master of the position. The conspirators were foiled, and his rival a prisoner. Roharo immediately appeared on the balcony of the palace to announce the Queen's death, and to proclaim Radama II. King of Madagascar. About four o'clock in the afternoon, arrayed in the robes of royalty, with the crown upon his head, and surrounded by his chief nobles, the King

appeared. It was long ere the joyous shouts of the people could be hushed; but as soon as silence was obtained, in a few expressive words he begged of them to be calm, and then assured them that, in becoming their sovereign, his one desire was to devote himself to their welfare, and to that of the country over which he reigned.*

Meanwhile, Rambosalama was conducted under a strong guard to the centre of the city to the Lake Andohalo, where he was compelled to take the oath of allegiance to his cousin. Thence he was conveyed to a residence of his own in the country, there to be detained a prisoner, under a guard of two hundred soldiers. But this was the extent of his punishment. Not a fetter bound his limbs; not a fraction of his large wealth was forfeited; nor was he forbidden to communicate with his friends. Such was the magnanimity with which the King treated the man who had conspired against his title and his life.

"The sun," writes Mr. Ellis, "did not set on the day on which Radama II. became King of Madagascar before he proclaimed equal protection to all its inhabitants, and declared that every man was free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without fear or danger. He sent his officers to open the prison doors, to knock off the fetters from those to whom the joyous shouts of the multitude without had already announced that the day of their deliverance was come. He de-

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs."

spatched others to recall the remnant of the condemned ones from the remote and pestilential districts to which they had been banished, and where numbers had died from disease or exhaustion, from the rude and heavy bars of iron with which they had been chained from neck to neck together. The exiles hastened home; men and women, worn and wasted with suffering and want, reappeared in the city, to the astonishment of their neighbours—who had deemed them long since dead—but to the grateful joy of their friends. The long-desired jubilee had come, and gladness and rejoicing everywhere prevailed; for many who were not believers in the Gospel sympathised with the Christians in their sufferings, and rejoiced in their deliverance."*

The views and policy of the new sovereign in relation to foreigners was most liberal. Hitherto none but natives had been allowed to reside in Madagascar, without the express sanction of the Government in every individual case, which was only granted for a limited period. In fact, such were the terms upon which the missionaries were received by Radama I., and also as in the case of all other foreigners during the reign of Ranavolona. But now all restrictions on foreigners and commerce were entirely abolished; while the capital, and, indeed, the whole island, were open to the former, and trade was thrown open to all nations.

On his accession to the throne, Radama II. com-

* "Madagascar: its Mission and its Martyrs."

municated these just and enlarged views to the Governors of Mauritius and Réunion for transmission to the Governments of England and France; and, in consequence, influential deputations were immediately appointed to visit the capital of Madagascar, and present the congratulations of those Governments on the accession of so enlightened a ruler. The English Embassy consisted of Lieutenant-Colonel Middleton and four other gentlemen. On reaching the capital, they were received by the King, and the people generally, with the most cordial welcome. The report of the Embassy contains the most gratifying testimony to the wonderful improvement effected in the condition of the people during the short time in which Radama II. had exercised the Government.

Immediately on the receipt of this report in London, Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria addressed an autograph letter to Radama II., accompanied by a copy of the Bible.

The twelve months of mourning prescribed by the laws of Madagascar on the death of a sovereign having expired, preparations were made for the coronation of the King.

A.D. 1862. On September 23, 1862, just thirteen months after the death of Ranavolona, her son, Rakotond, was crowned King of Madagascar, under the title of Radama II. The Governments of England and France were represented on that occasion by Major-General Johnstone,

Commander of the Forces at Mauritius, and Commodore Dupré, commanding the Imperial Naval forces on the East Coast of Africa, each of these officers being accompanied by a suitable and brilliant staff. The Rev. William Ellis, who was an eye-witness of the ceremony, has favoured us with the following account:—

"After a night of short sleep I rose, and soon after six, a captain and twenty men, in uniform, and armed, came to my house and drew up in front of the door. The officer said they were sent to conduct me to Mahamasura, the place in which the coronation was to take place, and to attend upon me through the day, and see that I was not incommoded by the people.

"When ready, I seated myself in my palanquin, with the star of the Order of Radama II., with which his Majesty had honoured me, and proceeded with my attendants through the city. In the latter part of my way I was immediately behind the idols, and at one time quite surrounded by them; and at that early hour hundreds of people, in palanquins and on foot, were pressing towards the entrance to the ground. Banners, inscribed with 'R. R. II.,' were fixed on both sides of the road, at intervals of every hundred yards; and tall green plantain trees had during the previous day been brought from the adjacent gardens and planted in groups of five or six together by the side of the way. On the ground the position assigned to the respective divisions of

the people were also designated by banners bearing their names. Banners were also placed along the whole line of the platform.

"About half-past ten I took my place in front of the Christians, among the native pastors, on the south side of the steps leading to the throne; it having been agreed that we were to offer prayer at the time of the crown being placed on the head of the King. Although the Christians occupied more space than that allotted to them, more than half their number could not find admission to the ground. On the opposite side of the steps were the Sisters of Charity and about forty girls and children, and, still nearer the stage, five or six Catholic priests and some of their people. Immediately in front of the Sisters of Charity and the priests were the idol-keepers, with their also small number of adherents. The idols, thirteen in number, were carried on tall slender rods or poles, about ten feet high. In most of them there was little resemblance to anything in heaven or in earth; yet such were the objects on which the security and prosperity of the realm were formerly supposed to depend, and for refusing to worship which so many of the most intelligent and worthy among the people had been put to death, whilst others had been subjected to banishment, slavery, torture, fetters, and imprisonment.

"The stage or platform was occupied by members of the Royal Family on one side, and foreign

guests on the other. Nearest the throne sat Rasalimo, the Sackalave princess whose marriage with the first Radama was the seal of peace between the Sackalaves and the Hovas. Next to her sat one who in her day must have been one of the brightest belles in Madagascar, for traces of beauty still lingered in her oval face and expressive features. She had been the wife of the first Radama's father. The type of three successive generations of Malagasy nobles were there assembled, and it was deeply interesting to watch their varied aspects, the resemblance and the deviations from the Hova type, the latter being much fairer than any others.

"Some of the men were exceedingly handsome, among whom were the young Prince Ramonja, and Rambosalama's princely son. All were most gorgeously attired; scarlet was the predominant colour, though some wore green, others puce-coloured velvet. The gold lace, though not lacking, was not so abundant on the new as in the old uniforms. My scholars, sons of the nobles, in their velvet and gold uniforms, stood by my side, in front of the pastors, before the great body of the Christians.

"Before twelve, the clouds of dust, and denser throng in the road, as well as the firing of cannon along the mountain side, announced the approach of their Majesties. The Queen, splendidly attired in a white satin dress, and a tasteful ornament of gold on her head, rode past in a scarlet and gold embroidered

palanquin, accompanied by her adopted little girl, the child of Prince Ramonja's eldest daughter. The King rode beside her, mounted on a beautiful little Arab horse, and greeted by the plaudits of the joyous multitude, who crowded every available spot within sight of which the pageant had to pass; while the voices of the Christians might be heard singing most heartily the National Anthem, or Malagasy 'God save the Queen.'

'"Guards clothed in green, and bearing silver halberts, attended the royal pair, and the officers of the missions from England and France, as well as other foreigners and Malagasy officers of State, followed. The Queen ascended the flight of steps leading to the seats prepared for their Majesties, under the canopy erected over the *Sacred Stone* on which the monarch exhibits himself to the heads of the nation. The King followed, wearing the British field marshal's uniform presented by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and a splendid light-coloured robe. The dresses of the officers of State were most of them new, and some of them gorgeous. The robe of the Minister of Justice was of green velvet trimmed with gold lace, the trains carried by two bearers. When their Majesties had been seated a few minutes, the King rose, and taking the crown from a stand on his right, placed it on his head. The firing of cannons announced the fact. The band struck up the National Anthem, while the multitude

saluted the newly-crowned monarch with the Malagasy salutation, 'May you live a thousand years!'

"The King then turned to the Queen, who stood by his side, and taking a smaller open-work crown of gold from the page who bore it, placed it on the head of her Majesty. After standing a minute or two to receive the greetings of his officers, and the shoutings of the multitude, the King took off the crown, the Queen sat down, and the King then delivered his Kabar, or speech, to the people, assuring them that his confidence in and affection towards them, and that his purposes for the welfare of his country and the prosperity of all classes, were the same as when he was raised to the throne. After this speech the King resumed his seat, when we all presented the Hasina—mine for the missionaries and myself.

"I then retired, asking an officer in blue velvet and gold to accompany me to my tent.* I threw my photographic blouse over my dress, prepared and placed my plate in the camera, and waving a white handkerchief as a signal, the King and Queen rose and walked to the front of the pavilion; and, after a short interval, I returned the signal that it was done. Their Majesties then resumed their seats, and the high officers continued to present their Hasina. I proceeded to develop my picture, which

* Mr. Ellis had previously been requested by the King to take a photographic representation of the scene.

turned out very well, so far as the chief objects were concerned. These, and part of the city which formed the background, came out well.

"When their Majesties retired, the scene became more crowded than before. I saluted the King as he passed near my tent on his return, and was surprised at the quietness of his horse among the floating of banners, sounds of music, shouting of multitudes, and report of cannon, to say nothing of the shouting and running to seek palanquins or bearers, as the vast multitudes, like a surging torrent, approached the place of exit from the ground to the road leading back to the palace.

"And now the scene—which, favoured by the nature of the country, a cloudless sky and tropical sun, together with the joyous occasion which had produced it, made it one of the most imposing I had ever witnessed—began to change. The lower line of the granite mountain on which the city stands —and which, two hundred feet above the plain, stretched from north to south behind the platform, at a distance of two or three hundred yards—had been thronged with spectators. Greater numbers still had spread themselves over the sides and summits of the hills to the north and west; while numbers were seen in beautiful perspective extending from the Maso to the very summit of Ambohi Zanahary (village of God), a massive circular hill to the south-west. This throng of spectators, clothed

in the long flowing lambas of pure white, or deep rich glowing colours, and who, except when clapping their hands or shouting for joy, had been quiet gazers on the scene, were now seen moving in various directions, until they were absorbed in the multitudes that crowded the roads leading from the plain.

"I had noticed as the King approached that the members of his family, especially those connected with the first Radama and his father, turned their faces towards him and clapped their hands, and sang some of the native songs, as was the custom in ancient times.

"I now packed up my camera, took down my tent, and made the best of my way home. The heat had been intense, especially in the small tent, and I was glad of some refreshment, having been on the ground from seven until three. But before I changed my dress a messenger came from the palace to say that the company were all assembled, and I therefore hastened to the coronation banquet, which was held in the large palace of Manjakamiadana.

"So far as choice, variety, and abundance were concerned, it was a right royal banquet. The silver-gilt goblets and tankard, presented by Queen Victoria, very appropriately graced the upper end of the table where their Majesties sat, supported by the chiefs of the French and English missions. The table was spread for a hundred guests, and that

number actually sat down to partake of the royal bounty. A calf, roasted whole and garnished, was the principal dish at the upper end. On the sideboards were piled large substantial portions of solid food, while poultry, game, and fish covered the table, which was ornamented with vases of silver, manufactured by native artists, after European models. There were ranged along the centre, with artificial flowers and sweetmeats, preserved apricots and pineapples, with plums and cakes intervening. The healths of the sovereigns of Madagascar, England, and France were drunk, with a few others, after one of which the King rose, drew his sword, and made an energetic speech as to the principles upon which he would exercise his authority, and which he considered would tend to the good or the injury of the country.

"Soon after sunset the missionaries retired. Dancing afterwards commenced, and continued for some hours. The King retired at half-past ten to his private apartments."*

A few days previous to the coronation of Radama II.—viz., on the 12th September, 1862—treaties of friendship and commerce were completed at Antananarivo, between Madagascar, England, and France. These treaties, in every essential feature similar to each other, in the privileges granted and in the friendly feelings expressed, have been accepted and

* *Missionary Magazine*, No. 320, January 1, 1863.

confirmed by the respective Governments. They permit the subjects of England and France on the one hand, and of Madagascar on the other, to enter, reside, travel, and trade in the respective countries, in conformity with the laws of each. They afford the enjoyment of all the privileges, immunities, and advantages accorded in the country to the subjects of the most favoured nation. The English and French may practise their religion openly. Their missionaries have liberty to preach, teach, build churches, seminaries, hospitals, where they may judge convenient, only in conformity with the laws. They have the right of buying, selling, cultivating and profiting by the soil, houses and stores in the states of the King of Madagascar. The local authorities will not interfere in any disputes between the persons of either foreign nation, nor between the subjects of either of those of the other. The consuls alone take cognizance of them. The treaties also promise assistance to those who travel in the interests of science—geographers, naturalists, engineers, and others.*

A recent French writer, with reference to these treaties, observes: "By that act, in which Radama II. appears as King of Madagascar, we have recognised without restriction his sovereignty over all the island. In consequence of that recognition two

* "France and Madagascar," *British Quarterly Review*, No. LXXVII., January 1, 1864.

consuls have been accredited to him, the one at Antananarivo, the other at Tamatavé, who only exercise their functions by virtue of an *exequatur* from the real sovereign." * In a similar manner the British Consul, Mr. Pakenham, has been received at Antananarivo.

Thus far in the career of Radama II. we have seen nothing but sunshine. During this time of prosperity the storm was brewing precursor of the revolution in which he was to perish.

While "all went merry as a marriage bell," and no one moved his tongue against the young monarch, his own character was undergoing a rapid change, and that of a nature the most fatal. His youth, like that of his putative father, Radama I., had been passed in the strictest virtue and self-command; and his manhood, during the life of his mother, Ranavolona, had been one constant and cheerful struggle in doing good for his oppressed countrymen. On being firmly seated on the throne, we find that he contracted habits which obscured the brightness of his early promise, and became suddenly the victim of that drunkenness and debauchery which had hurried Radama I. to an early grave. Although he had shown great kindness of disposition, he never displayed that strength of character necessary for one who would rule his fellow men. On the contrary, he showed rather a willingness to be led, and hence

* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, p. 700.

became the victim of designing characters, both natives and foreigners. There is no doubt that those who wished well for Madagascar and its ruler were much disappointed in him, among whom were the missionaries. On the other hand, we find, some years previously, that he had been thoroughly read by that discernment of character so frequently found among women. Madame Ida Pfeiffer writes: "I found no fault in him, except a certain want of independence, and a distrust of his own abilities; and the only thing I fear, should the government one day fall into his hands, is, that he will not come forward with sufficient energy, and may fail in thoroughly carrying out his good intentions;" and speaking subsequently of him, she remarks: "He is, as I have observed, a man of many good qualities, but he wants decision and firmness of purpose." *

Following the example of Rehoboam, King of Israel, he excluded from his councils many of the nobles and experienced men of the kingdom, while he surrounded himself with a number of young, inexperienced, and, many of them, most objectionable men, as his confidential advisers; and although their advice did not lead him to any acts of tyranny or oppression towards the people, it placed him so entirely in the hands of the idol-keepers, that law and order—protection for life and property—was entirely done away with; so that the nobles, to save

* "Last Travels," pp. 210, 269.

the nation from anarchy and the State from destruction, had to bring their monarch to account for his actions.

A.D. 1863. Early in 1863 extraordinary efforts were made by the idol-keepers to bring the King's mind under the old superstitions of the country. Within this period a sort of mental epidemic had appeared in the capital and the adjacent provinces. The subjects of this disease pretended to be unconscious of their actions, being unable to refrain from leaping, running, dancing, &c. These persons also saw visions and heard voices from the invisible world. One of these visions, seen by many, was the ancestors of the King, and the voices they heard announced the coming of these ancestors to tell the King what he was to do for the good of the country. Subsequently a voice was brought to him as from his ancestors, to the effect that, if he did not stop "*the praying*," some great calamity would soon befall him. Surrounded by mistresses, dancing girls, and the lowest debauchees of the Court, is it wonderful that the mind of the King, enervated by constant dissipation, was prepared to entertain this puerile and transparent attack upon the Christian portion of the community?

"It was then proposed by the *Mena Maso** to

* *Mena Maso*, literally, *red eyes*, spies of the Government, who are supposed to investigate and search after hidden matters with such intensity as to impair their vision.

assassinate a number of the Christians, as the means of stopping the progress of Christianity, and also to kill the chief nobles who opposed the King's proceedings. With a view of increasing the influence of this fanatical party, the King issued an order that all persons meeting any of the so-called sick should take off their hats, and thus show them the same mark of respect as was formerly given to the national idols when they were carried through the city. With a view, also, of shielding the perpetrators of the intended murders, the King announced his intention to issue an order, or law, that any person or persons wishing to fight with firearms, swords, or spears, should not be prevented, and that if any one were killed, the murderer should not be punished." *

It is also stated that the right of combat was extended to tribes and villages; thus legalising civil war, with all its horrors.†

On the 7th of May, Radama II. announced to his nobles his intention to issue this order or law legalising murder. The nobles and heads of the people spent the day in deliberating what course they should pursue; and next morning, in the most humble manner, the Prime Minister, accompanied by a hundred of the nobles and heads of the people,

* Letter of Mr. Ellis, *Missionary Magazine*, August, 1863, p. 236.

† M. Henri Galos, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, p. 701.

including the Commander-in-Chief, the King's Treasurer, and the First Officer of the Palace, waited upon the King, and remonstrated against his legalising murder. It is said that the Prime Minister went on his knees before the King, and begged him not to pass the ruinous law; but he remained unmoved.

The Minister then rose and said to the King, "Do you say before all these witnesses that if any man is going to fight another with firearms, sword, or spear, that you will not prevent him; and that if he kills any one he shall not be punished?" The King replied, "I agree to that." Then said the Minister, "It is enough; we must arm;" and, turning to his followers, said, "Let us return."*

The long and sad procession, headed by the Prime Minister, wended their way to the Minister's house at Andohalo. Some time was spent in deliberation, when it was decided to oppose the King. That night was one of anxiety to all in the capital, for both parties were arming for the struggle. The *Mena Maso* were not idle; the idol-keepers were with them, and some portion of the troops were under the immediate command of the King. At daybreak on the 9th, about 2,000 troops occupied Andohalo. The first object of the nobles was to secure upwards of thirty of the more obnoxious of the *Mena Maso*, whom they accused of being the ad-

* Mr. Ellis, in *Missionary Magazine*, August, 1863, p. 237.

visers and abettors of the King in his unjust and injurious measures. Some of these were taken and killed, others fled, but twelve or thirteen remained with the King. These the nobles required should be delivered to them. The King refused, but they threatened to take them by force from the palace, where the King had retired. Troops continued to pour in from adjacent and distant posts. These were under the command of the nobles, while the soldiers with the King refused to fire upon their comrades surrounding the palace. The King was forced to yield, and consented to deliver up the *Mena Maso* on condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should be confined for life in fetters.

The King, in his discussion with the nobles, had said that "he alone was sovereign, his word alone was law, his person was sacred, he was supernaturally protected, and would punish severely the opposers of his will."

This led the nobles to feel that they were not safe while the King lived, and he died by their hands the next morning, within the palace. The Queen, who alone was with him, used every effort to the last moment of his life to save him—but in vain. His advisers, the *Mena Maso*, were afterwards put to death.*

Soon after, they laid before the Queen the con-

* Mr. Ellis, in *Missionary Magazine*, August, 1863, p. 238.

ditions of a new Government; offering to place her on the throne if she consented to them, and, if she did not, declaring that they must seek another ruler. After reading the document, and receiving explanations on one or two points, she expressed her full and entire consent to govern according to the Constitution then laid before her. The nobles then said, "We also bind ourselves by this agreement. If we break it we shall be guilty of treason; and if you break it we shall do as we have done now." The Prime Minister then signed the document on behalf of the nobles and heads of the people, and the Queen signed it also. The chief of the nobles remained in the palace, and between one and two o'clock the firing of cannon announced the commencement of a new reign.

Rasoaherena, wife of Radama II., on accepting the Constitution from the nobles and the heads of the people, was elected to the throne under the title of Queen Rabodo.

When the new Government came into operation it declared, through the Queen Rabodo, the reign of Radama II. to be null and void; the object of which declaration is to cancel the private donation of the late King, dated 12th September, 1862, renewing to M. Lambert his gift, as Prince Rakoto, of all the lands, mines, &c., mentioned in his so-called concession, dated June 28th, 1855, and already referred to.*

* See Chapter X., p. 146.

Nevertheless, it has declared that the treaties made respectively with England and France shall be respected. And further, so scrupulously have the Malagasy Government, under Queen Rabodo, been in carrying out these treaties, that they have despatched an Embassy to England and France simply to ask permission to exact a small *ad valorem* duty on all imports, a source of revenue which had been foolishly abandoned by the late King at the instigation of interested foreigners, who took advantage of his ignorance of finance.

The Constitution of Madagascar, as agreed between Queen Rabodo, the nobles, and heads of the people, runs thus :—

"The word of the sovereign alone is not to be law; but the nobles and heads of the people, with the sovereign, are to make the laws.

"Perfect liberty and protection is guaranteed to all foreigners who are obedient to the laws of the country.

"Friendly relations are to be maintained with all other nations.

"Duties are to be levied, but commerce and civilization are to be encouraged."

"Protection and liberty to worship, teach, and promote the extension of Christianity, are secured to the native Christians, and the same protection and liberty are guaranteed to those who are not Christians.

"Domestic slavery is not abolished; but masters are at liberty to give freedom to their slaves, or to sell them to others.

"No person is to be put to death for any offence by the word of the sovereign alone; and no one is to be sentenced to death till twelve men have declared such person to be guilty of the crime to which the law awards the punishment of death." *

It is impossible to examine the above basis of a Constitution without being reminded of the Sovereign, the Lords, and Commons of the British Constitution; and the twelve men forcibly reminds one of the trial by jury in happy England. While we regret to find "domestic slavery" is still an institution in Madagascar, we must recollect that the Constitution has been framed by enlightened men of all religious denominations, well acquainted with the wants of their countrymen, and having the confidence of Europeans, who have visited them, and resided for some time in the island. Wise legislation is not the enactment of laws best in the abstract, but those best suited to the genius and wants of the people for whom they are enacted. While we hope and pray that the good will remain, we may confidently trust that time and advancing civilization will remove what is objectionable.

Every nation destined to independence and greatness must have its struggle for liberty; and

* Mr. Ellis, in *Missionary Magazine*, August, 1863, p. 238.

while Englishmen remember Friday, the 19th of June, 1215, when on the field of Runny Mede the Nobles and Commons secured their *Magna Charta*, Madagascar will have enrolled in its history that Constitution which her nobles and heads of the people obtained from Queen Rabodo on Tuesday, the 12th of May, 1863.

CHAPTER XII.

Ankara, or Vohémare—Magnificent Forests—River Tingbale—Volcanic Effects—The Natural Fortress of Ambatouza—Magnificent Harbours, affording great facilities for Commerce—Diego Suarez—Antanvarasti—Antongil Bay—Benyowski's success there—Port Choiseul—Mary Island, or Isle Marosse—Tintingue—Betsimsaraka—Great Fertility—Principal Rivers—Whale and Turtle abound on the Coast—Fenerive the healthiest Town on the Sea Coast — Foulepoint formerly Favourite Place for Shipping Slaves—Description of Tamatavé—Chief Fisatra, Fische, or Fish—Chain of Lakes—Mulberry Trees planted at Ambohibohazo by Mr. Hastie—Marmittes — Antatsimou: Great Poverty of the Natives caused by Love of Ardent Spirits—River Mangourou—Forest of Fondiana—Anosy—Fort Dauphin—Sheep covered with Wool as at Natal.

EAST COAST OF MADAGASCAR.

THE province which forms the northern extreme of Madagascar is called Ankara, or Vohémare; its southern limits are uncertain, but, generally speaking, and for facilitating the description of it, the River Samberanou, on the West Coast, and the River Tingbale, running into Antongil Bay, on the East, may be considered its Southern boundaries.

The meridian chain of mountains which runs almost from one extremity of the island to the other passes through Ankara about the same distance from both coasts, and terminates in the

lofty mountain—named by the natives Ambonitch, and by navigators Mount Amber—a little to the South of Amtombouk, better known as Diego Suarez, and called by Captain Owen, R.N., British Sound. The flanks and spurs of this mountain chain are covered with magnificent forests, abounding in timber adapted for shipbuilding. *Le faux giac, bois de natte, l'azigne, le saccoa, le copalier;* red takamaka, and colofane, ninety feet in length, may be easily obtained.*

From this meridian chain a considerable range is deflected towards the South-east, and terminates in Cape Baldridge, which forms the North-eastern shelter of Antongil Bay.

The meridian chain and also its deflected branch are the water partings of numerous rivers and smaller streams which traverse the province, fertilize the soil, and in some instances give access to its interior. In the latter sense the River Tingbale may be especially mentioned, which, taking its rise where the two mountain ranges meet, meanders through a considerable extent of fertile country, and disembogues in Antongil Bay. It is stated that by one of its branches it communicates with the western coast, giving access to Passandava Bay; and this may be looked upon as more probable when we consider the physical aspect of this province.

Independent of the two mountain ranges already

* Mr. Consul M'Leod to the Earl of Malmesbury, November 30, 1858, in Board of Trade Report, 1859-60.

referred to, lofty hills, with elevated and extensive plateaux, surrounded by deep ravines, are found throughout this portion of the island:—marking the stupendous effects of volcanic power when nature assumes such fantastic forms, making the beholder almost believe that, in bygone ages, giants had moulded the earth in imitation of man's puny efforts in architecture. Here may be observed on some prominent peak the baronial castle looking down upon the surrounding valleys and straths, while afar, on the mountain heights, may be seen the well-fortified town, frowning defiance to the invader. A nearer approach will dissipate the expectations of the beholder, and teach him that—

"'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view."

But a better acquaintance with Ankara will give him the knowledge of a fortress formed by nature, which in extent surpasses the works of man, and in its interior holds those resources obtained only from the Giver of all.

This fortress is called Ambatouza, and is, doubtless, the crater of an extinct volcano. Its interior consists of a most fertile and beautifully-diversified valley, which is on a level with the neighbouring plains, and is watered by many rivulets. This valley is surrounded on all sides by stupendous and inaccessible peaks, forming a natural rampart, which has been found at all times a barrier to invasion. A difficult pass gives entrance to the interior, while

a natural and tortuous tunnel, which can only be explored by torches, and requires half-an-hour to pass through it, leaves a way for the besieged to escape in the event of the pass being forced and the garrison overpowered. The pass is only known to a few, while the outer entrance of the subterranean approach is masked by a native village, from which safety may be obtained by retiring into the interior.

During the reign of Ranavolona-Manjaka the Ankaras, discontented with the Hova officers who belonged to the garrisons established in this part of the island, placed themselves under the command of Isimiare, the descendant of their ancient kings, previous to their conquest by the Sackalaves, and defied the Hova Government, by retiring to Ambatouza and similar natural fortresses which exist in this range of mountains. Although the Hovas were strongly reinforced, it is doubtful whether they would have reconquered this portion of the island, if treachery had not come to their aid, and revealed the secret passes to these mountain fortresses, where the Ankaras had retired, and could well have existed on the products of their fertile and well-watered interior valleys.

The discontent which caused the rising of the Ankaras still exists, and is produced by the monopoly exercised in all trading matters by the Hova officers, causing a stagnation of trade, and impoverishing a portion of the island which has always been celebrated for its prosperity and commercial communi-

cation with Europeans and Asiatics. Meanwhile, the despotic power exercised by the Hovas, and the mutual jealousies of the Ankara and Sackalave chiefs, causing dissension in their councils and mutual distrust, enable the handful of mountaineers from the province of Ankara to hold the island in complete subjection.

The native chiefs in this portion of the island having lost their sovereign rights by the conquest of the Hovas, have ceded them to the French Government, which, however, has, for the present, had the discretion to enforce them by an "armed neutrality, rather than by an active co-operation, which might frustrate ulterior views on the island."*

The province of Ankara affords an abundance of vegetable productions; and from Antongil Bay, proceeding to the northward as far as Vohémare, the portions of the country under cultivation increase. The Ankaras are anxious to trade, but the restrictions thrown in the way by the Hova Government, jealous of European invasion, and the monopoly of the Hova officers, have greatly increased the price of the valuable exports of the island, and are seriously affecting the trade of the country. At present cattle at Vohémare cost ten dollars per head, while formerly they might be purchased at from two or three dollars each; a chief holding no less than

* "Documents sur l'Histoire et la Geographie de la Partie Occidentale de Madagascar," par M. Guillain. II. Partie, c. I., pp. 155—158."

from 20,000 to 30,000 head of cattle. The cattle are by no means decreased in number, but the monopoly of the Hova officers has enhanced their cost to the stranger.

Ankara is specially remarkable for the facilities offered, on both coasts, to commerce, from the magnificent harbours which it possesses. I do not know any similar extent of coast throughout the globe which contains so many fine harbours, not even excepting New Zealand.

First among these is the bay of Diego Suarez, so called from the Portuguese navigator who first discovered it on his return from India. This bay was called British Sound by Captain Owen, R.N., but justice decides that, among Europeans, it should retain the name of its discoverer, although the natives speak of it as Amtombouk, and formerly as Mahazeba.* Diego Suarez Bay is unquestionably the most healthy and the best-situated bay in the whole island, and, with the chain of meridian mountains running from Mount Amber along the whole island, appears the natural settlement for any European nation seriously contemplating the conquest of the island, for the mountain range affords a natural and healthy means of advancing into the high interior plateaux and avoiding the malaria districts, which, along the coast lines, have hitherto proved impervious, in conjunction with the forests and extensive lower jungles, to any European force.

* Rev. Wm. Ellis, Vol. I., p. 63.

In his interesting memoir on Madagascar, Colonel Lloyd* speaks of this bay as "one of the finest harbours in the world;" and the River Makes, or Aughe-Vareikes, and Crocodile River, or Aughe-Voneyes, running into the bay, give access, by canoes, to the surrounding country.

The timber, so well adapted for ship-building, which this province produces, is to be found around the shores of this bay in forests which are falling to the ground for want of the woodman's axe—literally rotting on the soil—while the navies of Europe are constructed with timber from Moulmein, by no means superior in quality, and many thousands of miles more distant from our arsenals.

This bay was surveyed in 1824, as already stated, by Captain W. F. Owen, R.N., and more recently, in 1833, by M. Garnier, Capitaine de Frigate, in the corvette La Nièvre. The object of M. Garnier being with the view of colonizing this portion of the island, every facility for such a purpose was taken into serious consideration, and the various advantages for defence were by no means neglected. We shall therefore lay before the reader the result of the information derived from this survey; and, in the first place, it must be stated that although La Nièvre was engaged on this service for three months, and her crew more than ordinarily exposed to the climate, by working in boats both

*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. Vol. XX. 1851.

early and late, and also in the mid-day sun, still the report of the medical officers is most satisfactory, and confirms the statements made by merchant captains trading to this bay—that it is exempt from the fevers which frequently attack those visiting the central ports of Madagascar on both sides of the island.*

The Bay of Diego Suarez consists of five large harbours, having a sufficient depth of water, and anchorage with good holding-ground in each harbour, to contain at least ten sail of the line, with a due proportion of smaller vessels, amounting in each fleet to about forty vessels. This will give some idea of its capacity; but when we add that in each of these harbours wharves and quays might be built along their shores, to which vessels of the largest draught might be secured and lie at all times of the tide, the reader will at once conceive the idea of a harbour similar to that of Sevastopol, but more capacious, and affording every facility for the construction of docks and arsenals suitable for launching and repairing the largest fleets from the materials afforded by the neighbouring forests.

The entrance to this bay is, from shore to shore, about 3,000 yards in breadth, but the channel is

* Précis sur les Etablissements Français à Madagascar, Publié par Ordre de l'Amiral Duperré, Pair de France, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat de la Marine et des Colonies, p. 70. Also, Lettre de M. le Contre-Amiral Cuvillier du 29 Janvier, 1834, et Memoires y Annexes, quoted by the author of "Madagascar Possession Française Depuis 1642."

diminished by a sandbank, which stretches from the North shore, and reduces its breadth to about 1,000 yards. On this sandbank rests an island called by the French, Isle de la Lune, and by the natives Nossi-Volane. This island lies parallel to the channel, it is about 650 yards in length, and is admirably adapted for a fort to command the channel, batteries from which would cross the line of fire from forts on both sides of the entrance. But Nature, as if jealous that even the small distance of 1,000 yards should be unprotected, has placed a small island, called Nossi-Langou, inside the bay, cannon planted on which would sweep the length of the channel, and rake a vessel from stem to stern while running the gauntlet of the forts at the entrance. The depth of water mid-channel is from twenty to thirty fathoms, while even at the sides it is not less than five or six fathoms—a greater depth of water than is required even for the Great Eastern.

This bay is only separated from Port Liverpool, on the West Coast, by a narrow neck of land barely five miles in breadth; and it is by no means a novel idea to erect a fort on this isthmus, which would cut off the northern and most healthy portion of the island, secure the independence of a young European colony, and, at the same time, command two magnificent harbours, giving access on the one hand to the Mozambique Channel, and on the other to the Indian Ocean. Such a step has been contem-

plated by the French Government; but the Hova fort at Amtombouk, although small and indifferently garrisoned, at once settles the point of the sovereignty of the island, even in this its most remote part appertaining to Ranavolona-Manjaka, her successor, Radama II., and now Queen Rabodo.

ANTANVARASTI.

The province situated to the South of Ankara, on the East Coast of Madagascar, is called Antanvarasti. On the North it is separated from Ankara by the river Tingbale; its western boundary is the meridian range of mountains which run along the length of the island, and which separate this province from Boueni; and on the South it is bounded by the province of Betsimsaraka.

Antanvarasti is well watered by rivers, which give access to its interior, the principal of which, and those best known to us, are Tingbale and Mananhar, both of which run into the magnificent Bay of Antongil. This province abounds throughout with the most valuable and varied species of timber, suitable for shipbuilding and carpentry. The soil is fertile, and the animal and vegetable productions common to the island are found here in abundance. The general elevation above the sea is not so great as that of Ankara, and from the ocean to a distance of from ten to twenty miles the soil is impregnated with salt. In this space the mangrove and other malaria-producing trees may be found,

which have rendered the occupation of this portion of the coast so unhealthy to foreigners The clearing of the forests and cultivation of the soil would soon do away with the insalubrity of those limited portions which have hitherto been so fatal to Europeans. This is of great importance in studying the future of Madagascar, for perhaps no portion of the coast is so fully opened to commerce by water as the Province of Antanvarasti, the magnificent Bay, or almost gulf, of Antongil running into the land for a distance of fifty miles.

This bay derives its name from the Portuguese Don Antonio Gillo, and from the earliest discovery of the island it has been the scene of great commercial enterprise. In the time of Flacourt it was frequented by the Dutch, for the purpose of purchasing slaves and rice; and here it was that Count Benyowski, in 1774, established himself, and succeeded in his efforts to obtain a permanent footing on the Island of Madagascar.

Benyowski in Antongil Bay.

"From the 7th to the 12th I made an excursion to visit the district which had been surrendered to the Sambarives, on the banks of the river Tingbale. The lands were excellent, but the territory annexed to the establishment by the late conquest was greatly superior. What immense riches might be derived from a district of land 22 leagues in length, upon the coast of a navigable river! This excursion entirely restored my health."*

* "Memoirs and Travels of Count de Benyowski," Vol. II., p. 197.

At the head of Antongil Bay, in latitude 15 deg. 27 min. 18 sec. S., and longitude 49 deg. 52 min. 12 sec. E., is situated Port Choiseul, sometimes called Mincette, at the mouth of the river Tingbale, which has a width of about 400 yards. Opposite to the mouth of this river, and at a distance of four miles, lies the small island or rock called Mary Island by the English, and Isle Marosse by the French. This island has a circumference of about six miles. It has two safe anchorages, with good holding ground; is well wooded, has abundance of good water, and is very fertile. It is said to be healthy, and was chosen by M. de la Bourdonnais, then Governor of the Isle of France (Mauritius), as the site for his hospital in 1746. Properly fortified and garrisoned, this island would command the trade of Antongil Bay and the river Tingbale, which is said to give access to the North-west Coast. It was abandoned, with Port Choiseul and Tintingue, by the French in 1786. Excellent oysters and abundance of game are to be obtained in this bay, more especially at the head of it.

Proceeding South along the coast of Antanvarasti, we reach Tintingue, a small village formerly of some importance, as being one of the French possessions on the Island of Madagascar. Tintingue, frequently called by traders Tang-tang, is situated in latitude 16 deg. 42 min. 30 sec. S., and longitude 49 deg. 46 min. 12 sec. E., on a narrow, sandy promontory terminating in sandbanks and rocks, and connected

with the mainland by an isthmus having a breadth of about 1,500 yards. This promontory forms with the coast a roadstead of considerable extent, which is sheltered from nearly every point of the compass. The Bay of Tintingue is surrounded on the side of the mainland by mountains covered with wood, but which are separated from the sea by a low alluvial tract, which renders the margin of the bay very unhealthy. This is the more to be regretted, as numerous rivers, three of which have a considerable depth of water, discharge themselves into the bay, and give access to the neighbouring mountains, which are covered with the most valuable timber, adapted for shipbuilding and other purposes. The holding ground in the bay consists of slimy mud, and the depth of water is from ten to six fathoms, even close to the landing-place. Tintingue was abandoned by the French in 1786, and although it was partially reoccupied by that nation subsequently, it was taken possession of by Radama in 1823, and has since been held by a Hova garrison.

At the southern extremity of the Bay of Tintingue is situated Point à Larrée, on a promontory having the same name; this was formerly held by the French, but has been in undisturbed possession of the Hovas since July, 1823, when it was taken possession of by Radama.

Opposite to Tintingue and Point à Larrée, and about the distance of a league from the latter, is Isle St. Mary, which is about twenty-eight miles long,

three broad, and has a circumference of about eighty-five miles, belonging to the French.

BETSIMSARAKA.

Betsimsaraka, or the country of the Betsimsaraks, is one of the largest provinces of Madagascar, extending coastwise from Antanvarasti to the important river Mangarou, and including in its limits Betanimena, although the latter has sometimes been described as a separate province.

Betsimsaraka has been more frequented by Europeans than any other portion of the island. Its three principal rivers are the Manangarou, the Vonibé, and the Ivandrou.

The extreme fertility of Betsimsaraka has been remarked upon by all visitors. Rice, bullocks, and every description of live stock are found in the greatest abundance. The province abounds in magnificent forests, many of which are of great extent. That of Fanghoarou has been especially referred to, and being traversed by the Ivandrou, facilities are offered for transporting the valuable timber which it contains to the coast for shipment.

Fenerive, in latitude 17 deg. 23 min. S., longitude 49 deg. 28 min. 12 sec. E.; Foulepoint, in latitude 17 deg. 40 min. 24 sec. S., longitude 49 deg. 37 min. 12 sec. E.; and Tamatavé, in latitude 18 deg. 10 min. S., longitude 49 deg. 28 min. 30 sec. E., have been the principal places visited by traders.

These towns formerly belonged to the French, but are now garrisoned by Hova troops.

Fenerive is known as producing rice of the best quality and in the greatest quantity of any place in the island. Unfortunately, the roadstead affords but indifferent facilities for shipping, and the cattle which abound in this neighbourhood are generally taken to Foulepoint for the purpose of being placed on shipboard. The natives of Fenerive are celebrated for their love of the sea and their skill in fishing the whale and turtle, which are found along the whole of this coast, while the town is considered more healthy than many other places on the eastern seaboard of Madagascar. Foulepoint, called by the natives Voulu-Voulu, is a village of 200 houses, and contains about 1,200 inhabitants. The Hovas occupy the fort formerly built by the French at this place. This was the favourite port in Madagascar for shipping cargoes of slaves* before that detestable traffic was abolished by Radama the Great.

The surrounding country abounds in cattle and vegetable productions, and from the natural facilities afforded by the harbour for shipping, Foulepoint will be always one of the principal trading places on its seaboard.

The harbour is formed by a line of reefs which break the seas, and under the shelter of which

* Notices Statistiques, etc., Chap. II., pp. 21 et 22. M. Rochin, Voyages à Madagascar, à Maror, et aux Indes Orientales, Reflexions sur la Partie Nord de Madagascar, p. 261.

vessels ride with perfect safety. During the rainy season the entrance is occasionally somewhat obstructed by a shifting sandbank during the continued blowing of the South-east trade-wind, but on the wind veering to the North, or even in calm weather, this bank entirely disappears. The holding ground in the harbour is good; there is ample room for at least twenty ships to swing clear of each other when moored, while the depth of water is from five to seven fathoms.

To the southward of Foulepoint is Tamatavé, generally pronounced Tamatavy, situated in lat. 18 deg. 10 min. 6 sec. S., and long. 49 deg. 28 min. 30 sec. E. It is called Taomasina by the natives. It is described by Colonel Lloyd as being the best anchorage on the Eastern Coast.*

The principal exports from Tamatavé consist of rice, poultry, bullocks, and rofia cloth, made from the bark of a tree. Several vessels are employed in this trade between Mauritius, Réunion, and Tamatavé.

The adjoining reefs are extensive, and the swell and surf heavy and appalling; but they are considered dangerous only to vessels entering or leaving when the wind blows strong from the North-west. Tamatavé is a small and irregularly-built village, situated on a low point of land, with an anchorage

* "Memoir on Madagascar," by J. A. Lloyd, Esq., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., &c. "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," Vol. XX.

in about nine fathoms water within the coral reefs. There are about 200 houses in the village, and from eight hundred to a thousand inhabitants. The habitations of the natives are of very inferior construction; those belonging to European and Creole traders are better; and a few are comfortable and substantial. The Hovas erected a battery at the northern extremity of the village; being, however, merely an enclosure formed of strong poles, and containing three or four native houses belonging to the Government, together with a powder magazine and several smaller tenements, the whole was destroyed by the French in their attack on the island in 1829. Another battery, built of coral, has been subsequently erected near the spot, and planted with a few pieces of cannon. The materials employed in the construction of the houses in Tamatavé are the ravin-ala, or travellers' tree, which soon decays. The houses consist of but one room, though this is sometimes divided by a fragile partition of matting. The floor is of flattened bamboos fastened to poles, which are raised in order to avoid dampness; that would otherwise be equally unpleasant and injurious.

"Eight or ten miles from Tamatavé is the village of Anjolokefa, occasionally called Hivondrona (and in some maps marked Ivondro), though Hivondrona is more properly the name of the river only, which, proceeding from the interior of the country, falls into the sea at the distance of about two hundred yards

from the village. Anjolokefa was the residence of the enterprising chieftain Fisatra, otherwise called Fische, or Fish. He held in subjection to himself all the inhabitants of the Betanimena, Tamatavé, and Mahavelena provinces. This village was at that time the principal place on the coast. His very name was a terror even through the province of Ankay (West of Betanimena), the eastern part of which he conquered. He was at length murdered by a party from the interior, who contemplated in his death the ruin also of his brother and ally, John René, of Tamatavé. In this they failed. John René lived to inflict terrible vengeance on the murderers of his relative. A son of Fisatra, named Borora, intended to succeed to his father's possessions, was placed for some time under the care of the Rev. D. Jones, on the commencement of the missionary efforts of the latter at Tamatavé, but was shortly afterwards taken from the island, and conveyed to Paris for education, where he lately died. What political views the French Government may have had in the measure remain yet to be developed in the future connexions France may form with Madagascar."*

The roadstead of Tamatavé offers a good anchorage during the continuance of winds from the South to the South-east; but as it is entirely open to the North-east wind, which blows generally from the beginning of the month of December to the end of

* Rev. William Ellis's "History of Madagascar," Vol. I., p. 69.

March, it is not prudent to remain there during those months. The depth of water is at the entrance from ten to fifteen fathoms; in the middle of the bay, opposite to the fort, there is from five to eight fathoms; and close to the land, opposite the village, there is from two to three fathoms. The holding ground, at the usual anchorage for vessels of all sizes, is mud; while closer in shore it consists of mud and sand.*

In the interior of this province is the Lake Nosivé. This lake is from twenty to twenty-five miles long. It contains several small islands, some of which are inhabited. It forms part of the series of lakes running along the coast line for at least 200 miles, and forming almost a natural gigantic canal along the East Coast of Madagascar. These lakes are surrounded by marshy districts, which render the neighbouring country very unhealthy. Some of these lakes are separated only by a few hundred feet of earth. Benyowski in 1774, and Radama in 1821, caused canals to be cut joining these lakes, by which the communication was perfected for 200 miles, the marshes drained, and the country much improved in salubrity. Since the death of Radama, these, like many other improvements, have been abandoned, and that which might by the fostering hand of civilization have become a great boon and means of

* Plan de la Ville de Tamatavé Levé en 1829, par M. Fournier (Martial), Capitaine de Corvette, par Ordre du Contre-Amiral Gourbeyre. Depôt de la Marine.

developing the resources of the neighbouring provinces, by keeping up a water communication sheltered from the boisterous navigation of the coast in the rainy season, has again become a source of insalubrity to these provinces.

In the southern portion of Betsimsaraka lie the districts of Betanimena and Antatsimou, sometimes called provinces. These districts are peopled by the Betanimenes, the Ambanivoules, the Bezouzes, the Affarvarts, the Tancayes, and the Tatchines. While, on the one hand, they are the most numerously-peopled districts in the island, on the other hand, the inhabitants are distinguished for their hospitality to strangers. The district of Betanimena is bounded on the West by the mountains of Angova, which separate it from Ankova; and Antatsimou has the province of Bêtsileo on the West, and the river Mananzâri on the South, which separates it from Antaimoury.

The Rev. William Ellis, writing of Betanimena, states that the name of the province means "much red earth," and, no doubt, was given from the reddish, ferruginous appearance of the soil. There are many extensive lakes in the district, and two cataracts, Tahaviara and Iandrianahomby, deserving the notice of travellers. The country is flat near the sea, hilly in the interior, and mountainous towards the North. It is in many parts marshy and covered with thickets and forests. The soil for some distance from the coast is sandy; but, for the

most part, productive, from the abundance of decomposed vegetable matter which it contains. At Ambohibohazo, the capital of the province, the soil is rich, and the scenery diversified and beautiful.

In the neighbourhood of Ambohibohazo Mr. Hastie selected a spot of ground for a plantation of mulberries. They succeeded well, and might be cultivated to an indefinite extent for silkworms. Some good silk has been already produced in Madagascar; and this valuable commodity may hereafter become an article of great importance to the island. Mr. Hastie intended to form a sugar-plantation in the same neighbourhood, for which the soil appeared well adapted. Labour being extremely cheap, there was every prospect that the establishment would have succeeded. But his lamented decease, and subsequently that of Radama, have suspended every plan of the kind then in contemplation, and have shown most distinctly the extent and beneficial influence each exerted over the people, while they exhibit, in an affecting light, the degree to which a single individual may promote, or his removal retard, the improvement of a nation. There is abundance of grazing-land in the same part of the province, and numerous herds of cattle, belonging to the sovereign and to the traders on the coast, are usually taken there for some time previously to their exportation. It is also from this part of the country that Maronita, usually called by Europeans "Marmittes" (coolies, or bearers),

are generally obtained for conveying travellers and their baggage or merchandise from the coast to the capital, or other parts of the interior.* Antatsimou, in its physical aspect, is similar to Betanimena, except that the former is rather more hilly. Rice is grown in this province in great abundance, and quantities of beef are salted here for exportation, although the inhabitants are extremely poor. This is accounted for by Mr. Ellis, who states that the great cause of the poverty existing in this part of the island is the love of ardent spirits prevalent among the people. After toiling to obtain a crop of rice, the natives will sometimes sell the whole for a small quantity of arrack imported by traders from Mauritius and Bourbon. With the deleterious drug thus heartlessly given in return for the produce of their labour the natives soon become intoxicated, in which humiliating state they continue so long as the arrack lasts. For this short-lived indulgence they sink into a state of the most abject penury and misery, and then force themselves and their families to subsist the greater part of the year on roots, &c., found in the woods and swamps. Their chief means of subsistence is the via, a species of arum, the root of which is tuberous or cylindrical, and frequently from ten to twelve inches in diameter. It is dressed by baking for about twelve hours in an oven of heated stones underground, after the manner of the South

* "History of Madagascar," Vol. I., p. 70.

Sea Islanders. In this state it will keep good for three or four days; but is cut into small pieces and dried in the sun when intended to be kept for a longer period.

In payment for the carriage of goods into the interior, or for their produce, the intoxicating draught is the usual equivalent. To diminish and, if possible, prevent the wretchedness thus induced, Radama imposed a heavy duty on the importation of ardent spirits. Some check on such an improvident and destructive infatuation in the one party, and of relentless avarice in the other, was required; but there is great reason to fear that the baneful habit is too deeply fixed among the unthinking natives of this part of the coast to be very easily extirpated. But the attempt of Radama to diminish the evil is only one among many instances of the soundness of his judgment and the beneficial tendency of his measures.*

The provinces of Betanimena and Antatsimou are well watered, numerous rivers discharging into the ocean along their seaboard. For the most part these rivers are obstructed at their mouths by sand-banks, which might in most cases be easily removed. In general these rivers are not navigable for any great distance from the sea, in consequence of rapids, and in some cases falls, which obstruct the passage of any but the lightest description of canoe. On the other hand, access is afforded to

* "History of Madagascar," Vol. I., p. 72.

both these provinces by the river Mangourou, which, having its source in the meridian range of mountains to the North of Antananarivo, flows along the eastern flank of the Angova Mountains, traversing Betanimena, and, after a course of more than 200 miles, discharges into the sea, in latitude 20 deg. 10 min. S., and longitude 48 deg. 37 min. E. Unfortunately, it is only navigable for about half this distance, owing to the formation of the mountainous country through which it flows for the first 100 miles of its course. Near its mouth there are magnificent forests, the most celebrated of which is that of Fondiana, abounding in trees of the largest dimensions and different qualities, both for ships and house carpentry.

ANTAYMONRY AND VANGADRAINOU.

The province of Antaymonry extends along the East seaboard of Madagascar, from the river Mananzari, in latitude 21 deg. 12 min. S., to the Managhare, in latitude 22 deg. 52 min. S., which separates it from the province of Vangadrainou, sometimes called Antari. The southern boundary of the latter is the river Fotaka, in latitude 20 deg. 5 min. S., which separates it from Anosy. Antaymonry is bounded on the West by Matitana, while Vangadrainou has Ibara on the West. The river Manghare, taking its rise in the Betsileo Mountains, and traversing Betsileo and Ibara, gives access to Antaymonry and Vangadrainou. This

river, like Mangourou, has also a course of about 200 miles, and is navigable for about half that distance. Its banks are very fertile, producing abundance of rice and large herds of cattle. The neighbouring mountains and subtended valleys produce maize in great plenty, while the sugarcane, indigo, cotton, and tobacco are cultivated there with great success. The country is well peopled, having numerous towns and villages.

The smaller rivers of the provinces are the Mananzari, the Itapoule, the Matatane, and the Manambondrou, fertilising the soil and giving access to the interior. The Mananzari is navigable for a considerable distance. On the North bank a town of the same name as the river is situated, which was formerly a French settlement; but, like all those on the mainland of Madagascar, has fallen into the hands of the Hovas. On the banks of this river the Arabs have located themselves, and the province of Antaymonry may be considered the stronghold of that enterprising people on the East Coast of the island.

The river Manambondrou runs through a very fertile district, chiefly peopled by the Antancayes. Rice and cattle form the principal wealth of this people, while they cultivate cotton, silk, and tobacco. Honey and beeswax are in great abundance, and large quantities of tortoise-shell may be procured along this coast.

ANOSY.

Anosy, the most southern province on the East Coast of Madagascar, is, on some accounts, the most important in the island; for it is here that both the Portuguese and the French first endeavoured to form settlements.

We have already seen how the former were overpowered and compelled to abandon their settlement in 1550.*

Manamhatou is a town on the North-east Coast of this province, at the mouth of a river of the same name, which is well adapted for trade; but unfortunately it has no port. The surrounding district is populous, and the soil very fertile; numerous herds of cattle and ricing forming the chief article of trade. Manioc, sugarcane, coffee, and beeswax are abundant. In this province there are several rivers, and immediately to the South of Manamhatou is the Bay of Saint Lucia, in latitude 24 deg. 45 min. S., and longitude 47 deg. 14 min. E., called by the natives Mangafiafy, where the French early formed a settlement, but which they were obliged to abandon, from the insalubrity of the spot which they had chosen

A short distance from Saint Lucia Bay, in the interior of this province, is situated the Vale of Ambolo, described by all authorities as the most healthy, fertile, and beautiful valley in the whole

* See Chapter I., A.D. 1548.

island. Flacourt writes of it in raptures, and states that in this valley they make *simsim* oil, now a great article of commerce. He also informs us that there are numerous iron and steel-mines there, adding that in this valley they forge the finest assaygaies and the best iron tools. Pasturage is excellent, the cattle large, and the flesh excellent. "In this charming valley, not only the usual produce of the island, but cloves and other spices, with citrons of various kinds, may be obtained. Hot springs, reported to possess valuable medicinal qualities, are also found here."*

About six leagues South of Saint Lucia Bay is the peninsula on which Fort Dauphin stands. The peninsula is called Taolanara, sometimes written "Tholangari." Fort Dauphin is the earliest French settlement in Madagascar, and is situated in latitude 25 deg. 1 min. 18 sec. S., and longitude 47 deg. 2 min. 12 sec. E. of Greenwich, and 44 deg. 29 min. E. of Paris.

In February, 1825, Fort Dauphin was invested with 4,000 men by Radama the Great, and on the 14th of March occupied by the King of Madagascar, who entered the fort upon that day, lowered the French flag, and in its stead hoisted his own standard, having the Hova bird of power in its centre. This fort has since remained in the hands of the Hova Government. It mounts sixteen guns, and usually has a garrison of 800 Hovas armed

* Ellis, Vol. I., p. 74.

with muskets, besides Sackalaves armed with assaygaies, who live outside of the fort. The shores of Anosy are often bold and steep, and the cliffs, as one proceeds southward, composed of stratas of limestone of varying thickness. Rocksalt and saltpetre are found in the different parts of the province. The absence of a good harbour alone prevents its resources being developed. Taolanara Bay, or harbour, on which Fort Dauphin stands, might be rendered available for this purpose by building a jetty to protect the shipping from the seas which roll in, and at times render it a dangerous anchorage.

ANDROY.

The most southern province of Madagascar is Androy, situated between Anosy and Mahafaly. From the entire absence of good harbours, this district is but little known; and although it is well timbered, like all the coast provinces of this island, it is said not to be fertile. The population is scarce. Wild cattle abound, and also, it is stated, sheep in considerable numbers. In the course of time the South-west part of Madagascar may become a wool-producing country, as the sheep are covered with wool as at the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, not as in intertropical Africa generally and the Ethiopian Archipelago, where they are, for the most part, covered with hair, presenting more the appearance of goats than sheep. Salt and nitre are

found in this province. It has only one river of any importance—viz., the Mandrera—which reaches the sea in latitude 25 deg. 25 min. S., and longitude 45 deg. 30 min. E.

In this province lies the most southern point of Madagascar—viz., Cape St. Mary (South extreme), in latitude 25 deg. 58 min. 54 sec. S., and longitude 45 deg. 7 min. E.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Central Provinces of Madagascar—Antananarivo—Ankova—Ikoupa navigable from Bembatok Bay to within Sixty Miles of the Capital—Vale of Betsimitatatra—Tradition respecting Rapeto and Rasoalao—Clan of Zanak'antitra—Antsianaka, Wool and Cotton-producing District—Ibara.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF MADAGASCAR.

THE Central Provinces of Madagascar are Ankova, occupying the centre of the island, where the capital, Antananarivo, is situated; Antsianaka, on the North of Ankova; and Betsileo and Ibara, to the South of it.

Ankova, the country of the Hovas,* is the most important province in the Island of Madagascar. There the dominant race have their stronghold, and dictate to the other people of Madagascar and to foreign nations the terms upon which they may carry on trade and commerce with the productions of the island. In the centre

* Ankova is a compound word, formed of *Any* and *Hova*. *Any* is an adverb, signifying *there*, and a preposition signifying *at*. In composition the final y is dropped. Hova is the name of the people. It is sometimes spelt without the H, as Ova; but more correctly with the H, breathed very softly. It is changed into k in composition, after n, *gratiæ euphoniæ*, An-kova, for Any-hova—there, at the place of the Hovas, the country of the Hovas.—*Note*, Ellis's History of Madagascar, Vol. I., p. 82.

of the empire is the seat of Government, and it is there that the most successful efforts have hitherto been made for the civilization of the inhabitants of the country. The English missionaries, wisely adopting the safe advice of Sir Robert Farquhar, then Governor of Mauritius, established themselves at Antananarivo, the capital, under the immediate protection of Radama the Great, A.D. 1820. The introduction of education, European improvements, mechanics, skilled labour, printing, the arts and sciences, and the religion of Christ by these devoted men into the capital, has tended greatly to the rapid advancement of civilization in the island.

Mr. Ellis, in his recent visit to Madagascar, furnishes us with the following description of Antananarivo,* the geographical position of which

* TABULAR STATEMENT OF THE VILLAGES BETWEEN ANTANANARIVO AND TAMATAVÉ, WITH THEIR RELATIVE DISTANCES.†

Oct.			Miles.
22	From	Antananarivo to Ambatamanga	18
23	,,	Ambatamanga to Mandrahody	21
24	,,	Mandrahody to Ambohitroni	12
25	,,	Ambohitroni to Ampasimpotsi	20
26	,,	Ampasimpotsi to Alanamasaotra	8
27	,,	Alanamasaotra to Beforona	18
28	,,	Beforona to Ampasimbé	15
29	,,	Ampasimbé to Ranomafana	20
31	,,	Ranomafana to Birboahaze	20
Nov.			
1	,,	Birboahaze to Vavone	26
2	,,	Vavone to Tranomaro	26
3	,,	Tranomaro to Tamatavé	21
			225

† Colonel Middleton's Mission to Antananarivo, A.D. 1861.

is, according to the observations of Mr. Lyall, the late British Resident at the capital of the island, in latitude 18 deg. 56 min. 26 sec. S., and 47 deg. 57 min. 48 sec. E. of Greenwich, of 45 deg. 37 min. 22 sec. E. of Paris; the English missionaries placing it a degree more to the eastward, and the French a degree more to the westward :—

"The morning was fine, and we had several good views of the 'City of a Thousand Towns,' for such is the import of the name of the capital of Madagascar, as we approached from the East. Antananarivo stands on a long, oval-shaped hill, a mile and a-half or more in length, rising four or five hundred feet higher than the surrounding country, and being seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. Near the centre, and on the highest part of the hill, or, as the natives express it, on the tampombohitra (crown of the town), stands the palace, the largest and loftiest building in the place. It is about sixty feet high; the walls are surrounded by double verandahs, one above the other; the roof is lofty and steep, with attic windows at three different elevations. On the centre of the top there is a large gilt figure of an eagle, with outspread wings.* Adjoining the North-east angle of the Queen's house

* More correctly the *Voromahery* (*bird of power*), a species of vulture, used as the crest or emblem of the Hovas on the national flag.

is the residence of the Prince Royal, her son. It is smaller than that of the Queen's, but in other respects resembling it, and also surmounted by a golden eagle.

"Stretching along to the North and South of these Royal residences, and forming with them a line along the crest of the hill, are the dwellings of other members of the Queen's family and the chief officers of the Government, built after the same form as that of the sovereign, and conspicuous above all other buildings in the capital. Below these are the houses of other inhabitants, constructed almost entirely of wood, with lofty narrow roofs, thatched with rushes or grass, and ornamented at the ends with long rafters projecting above the gables. The houses along the sides of the hill are built on artificially-levelled terraces from twenty to forty feet wide. The sides of the upper part of the hill, especially the northern part, are covered with houses; but the nature of the ground has prevented any order or regularity in their arrangement. They are often surrounded by a low mud or stone wall, forming a sort of courtyard to the houses within the enclosure. The lower part of the hill is composed of naked broken rocks of granite, mingled with clay, and appears in striking contrast with the green grass or rice-fields and water courses of the valley below. The uniform shape of the houses, the plain, uncoloured wood of their walls, and the dark brown thatch, give

a somewhat sombre aspect to the whole capital, which might easily have been prevented by colouring the walls with pink or yellow, as had been done with good effect in some of the houses of the adjacent country. A few trees, apparently a species of fig tree, were visible here and there in the higher parts of the city; and though pale and yellow from the effects of the sun or the dust, served to relieve, in a slight degree, the sameness which prevailed. But notwithstanding this drawback, it was not possible to gaze on the city before me, the scene of so many heart-stirring and soul-moving events, without deep feeling, more especially when, just before crossing a small stream at the bottom of the hill, we passed near a large pile of granite, which I was told was the place of execution.

"About ten o'clock we reached the first houses, and still continued to ascend by a wide but rugged and uneven road, often for some distance over the naked rock, until we reached an open stone gateway near one of the palaces, outside of which there appeared to be a guard of about a dozen soldiers, who presented arms to the officers as we passed. We continued ascending until we reached the crest of the hill, and then descended towards the West. I noticed numbers of the natives standing within the enclosures on each side of the road, and gazing with apparent pleasure as we passed. The way now became exceedingly intricate, and after pro-

ceeding for some distance over a path along the top of a wall, built up from below from a depth of twelve or fourteen feet, we at length entered a spacious courtyard, enclosing three neat, well-built houses, each two stories high.

"On reaching the most northern building my palanquin was set down. The officers, who had left their horses on reaching the most intricate part of the way, came to me, and one of them taking me by the hand, and leading me into the building, told me that was the house the Queen had appointed for my residence, and then very cordially bade me welcome. The lower story of the house contained two rooms. The room into which I was ushered was large and high, about fourteen feet from the floor to the ceiling; the floor and the walls were neatly covered with matting. The inner room was somewhat smaller; the floor and walls being also covered with clean matting. At the western end was a window, screened by a white muslin curtain or blind. At the opposite end of the room a neat four-post bed stood, on which mats were spread, and which was encircled with white muslin curtains. On one side of the room was a table covered with a cloth, upon which were arranged tumblers, wine-glasses, and a neat water-jug, and above these hung a looking-glass. An arm-chair stood in front of the table, and four other chairs were placed in different parts of the room.

"Such was the inviting and welcome accommodation provided for my personal comfort during the period of my visit. The upper story of my residence was for the use of my attendants, with a separate house in the courtyard for a kitchen. The next house was for my packages, and the third house was occupied by a native Hova family; but I was afterwards informed that, if I required it, that also should be at my service. Having seen me installed in my new domicile, the officers retired, stating that they were going to inform the Queen of my arrival. I assured them of my deep sense of their courtesy and attention, and begged them to thank the Queen for her kindness in sending them, and for the accommodation so kindly provided for me."*

The province of Ankova may be looked upon as an immense plateau, about 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, formed by the meridian chain of mountains which runs along the whole length of the island. This chain here forms almost a circle, having in its centre the province which we are now describing. On the North of Ankova are the Andragintra Mountains; on the East the mountains of Angova, which separate it from the province of Betsimsaraka; on the South the Ankaratra Mountains, which separate it from Betsileo; and on the West the mountains of Bonga Lava, or Long Mountains.

* "Visits to Madagascar," by the Rev. Wm. Ellis, pp. 344—7.

These different ranges of mountains entirely enclose the province, excepting on the North-west, where the Andragintra Mountains are divided by deep valleys. These form an outlet for the drainage of the province where the river Ikoupa and its affluents flow into the Betsibouka, and give access by water to within forty or sixty miles of Antananarivo, from Bembatok Bay on the North-west.

The Ikoupa waters the magnificent Vale of Betsimitatatra, which lies to the West of the capital. "The vale itself reaches from thirty to forty miles in a direction from North to South, varying in width from half-a-mile to four miles. It is, however, impossible merely by specifying its length and breadth to convey an accurate idea of the form or beauty of the Betsimitatatra vale. Its rich productions throughout its whole extent, its irregular outline, terminated by innumerable rising grounds and gently-sloping hills, covered with villages, or adorned with cultivation, continually present to the traveller new and varying scenes of tranquillity and loveliness. In the rainy season especially, Betsimitatatra, viewed from the capital, presents the most charming and delightful scenery. It is extensively cultivated; and the beautiful green of the rice plantations, in the early part of the season, is not surpassed by the finest herbage of the European landscape."*

It is noticeable that Ankova is the only part

* Ellis's "History of Madagascar," Vol I., p. 85.

of the island which is not well timbered. In this province there is almost a total absence of wood even for firing purposes. The time it became so stripped of timber appears not to be in the memory of man. About thirty years ago the Hova Government, fearing an invasion of the island by the French, ordered every tree within thirty miles of the capital to be destroyed, so as not to afford shelter to any hostile force. Whether the whole province was similarly denuded at some unknown date cannot now be decided; but it is most certain that even the tops of the mountains and hills in this province show an entire absence of timber.

Perhaps the following tradition mentioned by Mr. Ellis may throw some light on this subject:—

"Imamo lies to the West of Imerina, and embraces Mandridano and Valala-fotsy. Abundance of iron is found in the mountain of Ambohimiangara, one of the highest in Ankova. It has been said that silver also exists there; but of this no satisfactory evidence has yet been given. One of the most celebrated vestiges of antiquity in Mamo is situated on the summit of this mountain. It is the ancient tomb of the renowned giant Rapeto. An altar is connected with the tomb, on which sacrifices are still offered.

"The tradition respecting these renowned personages states that Rapeto came from Ankaratra, and Rasoalao from Ambohimanoa. They made immense bonfires, and gradually approached each

other, till they met at Antongona, where they entered into a mutual covenant, and married. Their children consisted of one daughter and seven sons. The sons were laudably inured to industry, and sent to plant rice, but very impertinently took upon themselves to order their sister to fetch their Sarotra (the Malagasy umbrella, a rude sort of mat covering). The parents were indignant, and reproved the youths, on their return home, for imposing so menial a task on their sister—their only sister. They even took them by the shoulders, and denounced anathemas on them, and solemnly charged the daughter never to carry anything, nor plant anything, except rice—not even the manioc, nor sweet potatoe; that, if ordered to do it, she must peremptorily refuse, and that the 'boys' must do all labour of that kind.

"A clan exists to the present day in Ambòdirano, calling themselves Zanak'antitra—*i.e.*, old children, meaning made old by toil and labour. They consider themselves the descendants of this giant family, and their females still adhere to the ancient interdict, never carrying nor planting any thing but the Ketsa, rice-plants."

It appears to us that this tradition may point to a distant period when two rival nations, in their incursions upon each other's domains, may have destroyed their dwellings and forests by fire; that they ultimately united, and in consequence of the courage displayed by the women of one or both

of these nations, when united, the women were exempted from tilling the soil, excepting in so far as the planting of rice.

It is certain that Ankova, more than any other province of Madagascar, affords ample field for the researches of the ethnologist, if not also for the antiquarian. Being an entirely hilly, if not mountainous country, these elevations are generally the seat of ancient villages, long fallen into disuse excepting for sacrificial purposes. These hills, rising about from 500 to 600 feet above the surrounding plain, have altars on their summits, erected there by former generations to the memory of extraordinary personages whom legendary tales have now converted into former giants. Altars are also found throughout the whole of Ankova, the sites being generally elevations or deep groves. These places of worship are usually called Vazimba—that is, "altars raised to the Vazimba," who are supposed to have been the aborigines of the centre of the island. The graves of these people are to be found everywhere in this district. They are supposed to contain quantities of gold and silver; but the reverence in which the resting places of the Vazimba are held has hitherto preserved them from the search of the stranger. They afford a most interesting field for inquiry.

The province of Antsianaka (meaning independent), lying to the North of Ankova, is a vast tract of country well adapted for grazing purposes.

It contains large herds of cattle and also sheep. Here the finest cotton in the island is produced, and might be greatly increased, so that Antsianaka bids fair to be at no distant period both a wool and cotton-producing district. The province of Betsileo, lying to the South of Ankova, is celebrated for the manufacture of the native lamba, or long robe worn by all classes. A description of coarse silk, the produce of this country, is used in its manufacture. The land is fertile, and the people peaceful, living as they do in friendship with the Hovas, and divided by Anteva from the coast district. The scenery of the country is bold and majestic, having the effects of volcanic action indelibly impressed upon it.

Ibara, lying to the South of Betsileo, has been but little explored. It is said to be thinly peopled.

CHAPTER XIV.

North-West Coast of Madagascar—Secure Harbours—Navigable Rivers—Sugarcane—Gum-resin—Tortoiseshell—Passandava Bay—Facilities for Docks—Volcanic Action—Dalrymple Bay—Mouransang—American Traders—Want of Labour—Jealousy of a Foreign Flag—Destruction of the French by Order of the Queen—Movements of Port Mouransang—Malagasy Attacks on the Portuguese Settlements at Mozambique—Seizure of the Corvette L'Ambuscade—Seizure of the French Slaver La Bonne Mère—Small-pox communicated to the Malagasy, and Fatal Effects—Narunda Bay—Majambo Bay—Rivers running into it—Giving access to Magnificent Forests — Bembatok Bay—Arab Settlements — American Trade—Captain Owen, R.N., during Survey of the East Coast of Africa supplied by American Traders — Majunga: its Position and its Strength—Mondzangaïe—American Cargoes of Notions—Kiakombi—Coal—Boyanna Bay—Menabe—Iron carried from here to India—The Effect of War on Menabe—Féérègne—Robert Drury.

WEST COAST OF MADAGASCAR.

The North-west Coast of Madagascar is indented with bays, forming some of the most remarkable and secure harbours in the world, in which there is a depth of water sufficient for the largest class of vessel. Nearly all of these harbours are very easy of access.

Into these magnificent bays rivers discharge themselves, having their sources in the chain of meridian mountains which extend almost from one extreme

of the island to the other. The majority of these rivers are navigable, for vessels of a hundred tons burden, for many miles from their mouths; and some of the largest of them will be found open to steam navigation for at least eight months of the year, thus giving access by their channels to the interior of this fertile country, and forming natural outlets for the great mineral wealth of the island.

ANKARA.

Commencing from Point Amber, the northern extremity of the island, we find, first, Ambavami-bé, named by Captain Owen, R.N., Port Liverpool. Continuing our course to the southward, we meet with Passandava Bay. The country between Point Amber and Passandava Bay is called Ankara, which extends from the North point of the island to the river Sambéranow, flowing into this bay.

The Antankaras, as the natives of Ankara are denominated, cultivate rice, maize, manioc, and potatoes, but not in sufficient quantity for exportation.

The sugarcane is also planted by them, but simply for the purpose of making a beverage with the juice, by mixing with it an infusion of bitter bark; when fermented it is said to be very pleasant to the taste, and is called by the natives bessa-bess.

Besides the trees already enumerated in the previous chapter, adapted for building purposes, which are found in the province, the East Coast produces another large tree of the family of Terebenthacées,

which furnishes the gum-resin éléme* of commerce.

Along the whole of this coast tortoiseshell may be had on reasonable terms, and cattle are very numerous; but since the Hovas have established themselves in this part of the island cattle have risen in price from two to eight or ten dollars per head.

PASSANDAVA BAY.

Passandava Bay is commanded by the Island of Nossi-bé, ceded to the French and taken possession of by them on the 5th of May, 1841. The capital of Nossi-bé is called "Hell-town," from which village unavailing efforts have been made to attract the commerce of Madagascar and make it an emporium for that island.†

Passandava Bay, designated on the ancient charts by the name of Mangaéli, or Massaéli, is the broadest and deepest bay on the West Coast, and possesses numerous fine harbours. The village of Passandava, situated at the head of the bay, consists of a few half-ruinous huts principally occupied by a small Hova garrison.

This bay may, at present, be said to be almost deserted, in consequence of the restrictions to trade caused by the Hova officers, who, in the name of the late Queen, Ranavolona-Manjaka, monopolise all trade with strangers.

* Guillain, "L'Histoire de Madagascar," Livre II., p. 160. "History of Madagascar," by the Rev. W. Ellis, Vol. I., pp. 37, 38.

† M'Leod's "Eastern Africa," &c., Vol. II., p. 192, *et seq.*

In the South-west end of the bay a group of small islands are situated, called by the natives Nossi-Mamonks or Nossi-Tellou (the three islands), between which and the mainland there is an excellent anchorage, and on the West side of the largest of them there is a creek, the sides of which form natural wharves where ships may be secured and remain afloat at low water. With such facilities, how easy would it be to construct a slip and dry docks! Be it remembered that, at present, Mauritius is the only place between Europe and India, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, which affords the necessary accommodation for all the navies of the world.

On the same island are the remains of the ancient Arab settlement of Djado or Isada, which was founded on the Moors being driven from the East Coast of Africa during the Portuguese occupation; and which, tradition states, was abandoned, with some other Arab settlements, in consequence of the terror with which that people were possessed on hearing of the annihilation of the army of the Imâm of Oman, Seif-ben-Sultan-ben-Malek, by the springing of a mine under the walls of the fortress at Mozambique.*

"Near the village of Passandava the mountains that surround the stupendous and inaccessible peak of Matowla take their rise. This chaotic mass, from the vast chasms of craggy steeps by which it is

*. Guillain, "Documents sur L'Histoire de Madagascar," Livre II., p. 176.

composed, presents a grand and awful appearance. The portion that immediately fell under our inspection was evidently volcanic, and if the rest are the same, how violent must have been that convulsion in the earth which reared so stupendous a ruin on its surface! The subterraneous cause still, in all probability, exists, as earthquakes are sometimes felt; and the Portuguese on the opposite coast of the main affirm that the shocks experienced there are generated at Madagascar."* "Some of the islands abound in large masses of hardened earths of different colours, incorporated and stratified with quartz and basalt, or lava resembling it. In the side of Ninepin Rock, adjoining the island of that name, we discovered a small excavation containing a Malagasy coffin. This was a box about four feet long, eight inches deep, and six broad, holding the disjointed skeleton of a grown person. As it bore no marks of fire, we were led to imagine that the body had been inhumed, and then allowed to remain until the flesh had decayed and dropped from the bones, a change that the climate would quickly produce."†

The margin of this bay abounds in a large species of brown eagle, apparently subsisting on fish, as they generally choose the overhanging branch of a lofty tree projecting from the side of some sheltered nook, where the uninterrupted smoothness of the

* See Meteorological Journal kept by Mr. Consul M'Leod at Mozambique, 1857-8.

† Owen's Narrative, Vol. II., p. 136.

water enables them more readily to perceive their scaly prey. The eagle's dexterity of wing is surprising; the moment he sees a fish come near the surface, he pounces down with the rapidity of lightning to seize it; yet so well does his keen sight measure the distance, that, on reaching the water, even should he miss his aim, in an instant, by a strong exertion of his sinewy pinions, he arrests his headlong flight, and scarcely wetting his talons in the water, soars majestically back to his watchful post.*

River Samberanou. The river Samberanou runs into Passandava Bay, giving access to West Ankara.

Dalrymple Bay. Dalrymple Bay, called by the natives Bavatoubé, or Ambavatoubé, is situated at the North-west extremity of Madagascar, and is distant from the Island of Nossi-bé, belonging to the French, about fifteen miles South-west; it offers an excellent anchorage for vessels of all sizes, and although only open to one point of the compass, from the regularity of the land and sea-breezes, vessels find a leading wind to enter and depart at certain hours of the day.

At present, a fleet, or even, in the dry season, a vessel, would have some difficulty in obtaining water here; but it appears from the subjoined statement of M. le Commandant d'Artillerie Gouhot, that art would have little difficulty in aiding the provisions

* Owen's Narrative, Vol. II., p. 135.

already made by nature for the purpose of a large supply of water.

M. Gouhot states that many large brooks which discharge themselves without the bay pass so close to it, that there would be no difficulty in cutting channels from them which would throw a large supply of water into the bay. Also, that fresh water may be procured by digging wells at any part of the bay a little above high water mark; and that there never could be a want of water in a country where the rainy season lasts four or five months, if large cisterns were constructed. He adds that the construction of forts, batteries, and vessels would be easy, as there is abundance of sand, coral, stone, and timber of all dimensions.

During the late attempt of M. Lambert to revolutionise Madagascar, by dethroning the Queen, and placing her son, the Prince Royal, on the throne, a vessel was stationed in this bay for the purpose of facilitating the escape, in the event of failure, of the Hova and Sackalave chiefs who were to have taken part in the revolution; but the discovery of M. Lambert's plans, and his ignominious expulsion from the island by order of the Queen, who generously spared his life, prevented the accomplishment of a scheme which was foolishly concocted in Paris, and imbecilely attempted to be carried out in Antananarivo.*

Mouransang, situated in latitude 13 deg. 50 min.

* M'Leod's "Eastern Africa," &c., Vol. II., p. 195 *et seq.*

S., is the most northern Hova fortification on the West Coast of Madagascar, and with the exception of the small military force at Passandava, is the only Government settlement on the North-west end of the island.

MOURANSANG.

The town of Mouransang is of Hova date, and was founded in 1837. It consists of about 200 houses, made in the native manner, of which the Governor's only is built of wood.

The powder is secured in a casemate situated in the middle of the town, which is of a triangular form; the side facing the sea—that is to say, towards the South—is mounted with two pieces of cannon, placed upon masonry of inferior workmanship, which, fired at an extreme elevation, would carry as far as the beach. The piece which defends the entrance is mounted on a dilapidated naval carriage, and the top of the masonry on which it rests is not level, like a platform, nor is there any battlement; so that if the gun was worked smartly, the piece and the gunners would soon be found in the fosse.

At the western angle a vacant space serves as a *place d'armes*, where a third piece, mounted like the other two, is placed. On the North, where the side of the mountain is quite inaccessible, there is a fourth cannon. The descent is made on this side by a narrow path to the valley, which the fort commands, and in which a rivulet, reaching the sea at the landing-place, has its course. On the side which faces the sea there are no cannon

This Hova fort, planted on the crest of a hill, has no wells, and is unprovided with cisterns; so that the garrison are obliged to supply their daily wants from the rivulet in the valley at the foot of the hill. No precautions are established for reserving a supply of provisions, for which the garrison are entirely dependent on the four neighbouring villages, the inhabitants of which have it in their power, by blockading the Hova garrison in their fort, and stopping all supplies of food, to reduce the garrison by famine, and throw off the yoke which the Hovas have imposed on them.

It appears that, although Mouransang is about 560 feet above the level of the sea, the hill upon which it is built is commanded by the crests of some neighbouring ones. The local Government contemplate erecting a fort on one of these hills, nearer the beach, the guns from which would command the landing-place and the villages on the plane. This plane is apparently destitute of any defence, but it is stated that deep ditches have been dug for its protection, which are carefully masked by trees and bushes.

M. Guillain, who visited it in 1843, gives the above description of Mouransang, and states that the garrison consisted of about 350 men.

The opinion expressed by that talented officer is, that although a fort, placed in such a position, properly fortified and defended by European troops, would hold out for a considerable time, still that,

taking it as it is, three or four hundred French soldiers and sailors, with two field-pieces, would soon dislodge the garrison. He adds that five thousand Sackalaves would not take it, so that we must suppose the Hova Government well established in this part of the island.

With reference to Mouransang being held by European troops; in the event of its ever being taken possession of by such a body, it must be remembered that the Hova garrison suffer greatly from the intermittent fevers prevalent in this portion of Madagascar, and that those of the garrison who cannot become acclimatized are removed every year to Antananarivo.

Rice, manioc, maize, and potatoes are cultivated in this district by the natives, who are Sackalaves. The rice is of two descriptions. That called by the natives vari-antetikalaï, which is white and very beautiful, gives only one crop annually; the other sort, called in the country vari-zebi, is sown and gathered at any time; it is red, and of an inferior quality. The former is cultivated in the uplands, and the latter in the low marshy country. The white rice is extensively raised for exportation, while the reddish, or inferior, being reserved for home consumption, its cultivation is regulated by the absolute demand.

The Hova officers, having the monopoly of the trade, are enriched at the expense of the cultivator and the exporter, who are only allowed to trade through

the medium of the Queen's officers; hence there is a great restriction on legitimate commerce.

About eighty or ninety tons of rice are exported annually, which is generally bought up by a Portuguese trader for the Mozambique market, who supplies it to the Government of that place at one dollar for one hundred pounds weight.

Cattle may be bought at from five to ten dollars a-head, according to their size. The only hides prepared here are those of the cattle slaughtered for the use of the garrison, which are sent to Majunga, and sold, for the benefit of the Governor of Mouransang, to the American traders.

Some beeswax is also collected, of which a great quantity may be obtained in the surrounding country, but there is no demand for it.

Between the river Samberanou, which flows into Passandava Bay, and the river Lonza, which discharges itself into the northern arm of Narunda Bay, the trees which furnish the copal and éléme gums are found more numerous than in any other part of the island; but the gums are not collected—firstly, because there is a want of labour, and, secondly, because there is no demand for these gums, the American vessels which frequent Majunga confining their transactions to hides, hoofs, tallow, and salted beef.

The want of labour is caused by the great numbers of Sackalaves who have fled from this part of the country for the purpose of avoiding the Hova

yoke. The Government of the Queen instructed the Governor of Mouransang to send expeditions to the neighbouring islands of Nossi-bé and Nossi-fali for the purpose of destroying the plantations and dwellings of the absconding Sackalaves; hoping by that measure they would be induced to return to Boueni, where they were assured that they might reside in safety; but this short-sighted and tyrannical policy only begot a spirit of resistance, and ended in retaliation on the part of the inhabitants of those two islands, who used to fit out expeditions for the purpose of making reprisals on the Mouransang people. This state of things continued from 1837 to 1843, in which year M. Guillain was instructed to inform the Hova Governor that Nossi-bé having been ceded to the King of the French, persons dwelling on that island were under the protection of the French flag, and that consequently any incendiary attacks would be punished in a manner becoming the dignity of that great nation. The Hova Governor promised to write for fresh instructions from the Government at Antananarivo, and since that period no authorised attacks have been made on Nossi-bé.

The imports at Mouransang consist of arrack, white and blue cottons, calicoes, Indian stuffs, handkerchiefs, bottles, iron pots, hardware, glassware; all in small quantities, with the exception of arrack and white cottons. The arrack and the greater part of the white cottons are consumed at Mouransang,

and the other articles are conveyed, for the purpose of barter, into the interior, finding markets in Sianaka and Androunah.

The Hova officers are the principal merchants; but as they do not purchase more than fifty dollars worth at one time, for their private speculations, it would be advisable to establish a trading depôt, to which there would be no objection as long as the operations were confined to trade.

The Malagasy people have always opposed any infringement of Madagascar territory, and therefore look with great suspicion on any attempts to hoist a foreign flag on the island, more especially when such aggression is accompanied by a morning and evening salute of cannon, as was lately the case at the coal-mines, in Bavatoubé Bay, worked by a French company.

The head of this establishment* was warned by the Hova Government to cease this display of sovereignty, which was displeasing to the Queen. The infatuated man, persisting in the course which he had adopted, the Hovas surprised him at night, and massacred not only the French, but nearly all the natives, besides a number of slaves which the manager had obtained from the Mozambique slave-dealers, and who were engaged on the works, amounting, in all, it is said, to seven hundred persons.

* M. d'Arvoy, Ancien Consul de France à Maurice. "Madagascar Possession Française Depuis 1642," par V. A. Barbié Bocage, Paris.

In 1843 arrack sold at from 30 to 40 dollars the barrique, and blue cotton at from 3 to 3½ dollars the piece. The port charges at Mouransang in the same year were: ¾ of a dollar per foot of draught of water, as an anchorage due, besides ⅛ of a dollar per ton; 10 per cent. in kind on exports and also on goods actually sold, if such an arrangement is made previous to landing the goods; if not, 10 per cent. on all goods discharged.

The movements of Port Mouransang from April, 1841, to August, 1842, a period of fifteen months, are thus given by M. Guillain:—

"1. An English brig from the Cape of Good Hope left, on consignment, about 2,000 dollars worth of goods with a Portuguese trader, and called some time afterwards for the purpose of settling accounts.

"2. La Venus brigantine, from Mauritius, brought about 1,000 dollars worth of rice, of which amount 600 dollars were paid in blue cotton stuff.

"3. The Edward brigantine called without doing any business.

"4. The Portuguese schooner Philanthrope, from Mozambique, for rice, for the Government of that place, made during this time two voyages."

The above statement shows that, at present, Mouransang is, in a commercial point of view, of little importance; but the information already detailed proves its capabilities, and that with a moderate tariff a large and lucrative trade might be carried on here.

Mouransang is situated in an arm of a large bay, having three inlets. Mouransang, or Rafala Bay, is the most northern; Raminitok the central, or north-eastern; and Saumalaza, or Radama, the southern. The two first of these may be considered as one bay, connected by a channel, which has no great depth of water, and is rather intricate.

Mouransang Bay is open to the North-west, and is not considered very safe in the rainy season, when it would be exposed to the hurricanes which sweep down the Mozambique Channel at that time of the year.

The southern arm of this bay, called Saumalaza by the natives, from a river of that name which runs into it, but named Port Radama by Owen, in honour of the great King of Madagascar, is a deep inlet, which, with a breadth of from two to five miles, advances into the land for a distance of twenty-five miles. M. Guillain states that it is difficult to navigate, except with a fair wind, in consequence of the banks and reefs with which it is dotted.

Besides the Saumalaza, many small streams run into this bay, and at one time it must have been very fertile, for there are the remains, on the East side of the bay, of the villages of Narandavi, Capani, Ambatwonkouni, Perreni, and Maronpapang, which were formerly inhabited by Sackalaves who have fled from the Hova Government to that of the French at Nossi-bé.*

* Guillain, Hist., &c., p. 198.

At the entrance of Mouransang Bay are the Islands of Nossi-Tanimoura, Nossi-valia, Nossi-Ouvi, and Karakdzonro, the last of which is celebrated as the starting point of the expeditions undertaken by the Malagasy against the neighbouring Comoro Islands.*

Emboldened by their successes against the inhabitants of these islands, the Malagasy pushed on to the coast of Africa, and were, for the space of forty years, a terror to the Portuguese settlement at Ibo.

The Government of Mozambique at last determined to put a stop to these attacks, and in 1805 despatched the corvette L'Embuscade, of fourteen guns, against them. This vessel fell in with the Malagasy flotilla, on their return from a foray on Ibo, off Cape Amber. The corvette was becalmed, and surrounded while she was thus unmanageable. The Malagasy boarded L'Embuscade, cut the crew to pieces, and carried the vessel into Anconalá, where they broke her up to obtain the iron and copper in her hull.†

In 1807 one of these Malagasy expeditions, amounting to 7,000 or 8,000 men, fell in with the French slaver La Bonne Mère, fresh from the Coast of Africa, with a cargo of slaves. Her captain, M. Legars, having permitted some of the Malagasy on

* "Voyage à Madagascar. Annales de Malte Brun," T. II., p. 13.

† Guillain, p. 200.

board, and treated them with arrack, they called to their companions to taste of their good fortune. Emboldened by numbers, they overpowered the crew and massacred them. Having obtained complete possession of the slaver, they carried her into Cape Amber, where they divided the slaves among the chiefs of the expedition, and destroyed the vessel, as in the former case. The slaves of La Bonne Mère having the small-pox, it was communicated to the Malagasy, and of the formidable body which captured that ill-fated vessel but few survived.*

The last of these expeditions against Ibo took place in 1816, "and had not the elements conspired against them, by reducing the number of their canoes from 250 to 68, Ibo, with its forts, would probably have added another link to the chain of Portuguese ruins with which the coast is marked. The natives landed on the adjacent Island of Querimba, when, dispirited by their loss, they were easily routed by the forces that the Governor led against them. Twenty-five of their canoes were destroyed, the remainder escaped to sea, but were never afterwards heard of; and it is melancholy to relate that out of 6,250 persons who composed this expedition, not one was supposed to have survived.

"A Creole lieutenant, who had been an actor in this affair, whilst relating the particulars, wound up his description by assuming a swaggering military air, kicking a bleached and mutilated skull that lay

* Guillain, p. 200.

before him, and observing, 'In 1816 that was stuck on the shoulders of a Madagascar man.'"*

The Portuguese settlement of Ibo is the great warehouse for slaves in Eastern Africa; it is looked upon by the natives of the great continent, as well as by those of the Ethiopian Archipelago, as the stronghold of the slavedealers; hence the repeated attempts of a noble race like the Madagascar people to utterly destroy it.†

NARUNDA BAY.

Narunda Bay is the Mourumgain Bay of the old charts of this coast. The islands at the North entrance afford excellent harbours, and may be approached in most directions. Nossi-Sancasse, the largest of them, formerly called by navigators Saint Etienne, is inhabited, and entirely covered with verdure, as also is Souhe, a stupendous inaccessible rock, upwards of two hundred feet high.

"Opposite to these islands the river Lonza, after forming an extensive lagoon, eight miles inland, discharges its waters into the sea, through a channel which, on account of its excessive narrowness, the amazing depth of water, and the picturesque scenery on either side, is rendered highly interesting. When the Albatross was passing in, some natives who had ascended one of the heights that almost overhung the channel appeared like pigmies, and had they felt

* Owen's Narrative, Vol. II., p. 12.

† See M'Leod's "Eastern Africa," &c., Vol. I., p. 305, and Vol. II., p. 265.

inclined to be hostile, they might have been so with safety to themselves, and yet with considerable injury to those below.

"It was at Narunda we first obtained a view of the stupendous peak of Matowla, many miles distant, towering over the lofty, yet comparatively low, intervening hills."*

This bay was described by Captain Boteler, R.N., as very picturesque, fertile, and well inhabited; the natives of which were carrying on a considerable trade; but M. Guillain tells us that when he visited it, twenty years afterwards, the villages were destroyed or abandoned, the natives having fled from the dominion of the Hovas. The river Lonza is navigable for vessels of the largest tonnage for some distance from its embouchure.

Vessels from Zanzibar frequent this bay for cargoes of sandal wood, which is found here in great abundance.

MAJAMBO BAY.

The Bay of Majambo appears to accord with the Vieux Massalæge or Massalage, and the Vieux Massaly, or Massaily, of the old charts.

It has been deserted for some time, in consequence, it is stated, of the proximity of the Hova Fort of Majunga.

The Government of Majunga resort to this place for timber for house and shipbuilding purposes. Formerly the Antalaots of Mondzangaïe obtained

* Owen's Narrative, Vol. II., p. 133.

from this bay rice, wax, salt, gums, and timber. Arab vessels even now arrive here in search of timber for masts and shipbuilding, among which may be numbered vessels belonging to the Imâm of Muscat.

Four important rivers discharge themselves into Majambo Bay—the Soufia, of which Dumaine states that one of its branches goes towards Antongil Bay (a fact with which Benyowski was well acquainted); the Ambouanion; the Majambo, which gives the bay its name; and the Sambélahé; all giving access to magnificent forests, affording enough timber for the reconstruction of all the navies of the world.

BEMBATOK BAY.

The Bay of Bembatok is in reality the estuary of several rivers falling into it from distant parts of the interior. It is seventeen miles in depth, and three and a-half across at the entrance, but inside nearly eight, excepting about half-way in, where the shores on each side approach and leave a narrow channel, through which the pent-up water rushes with so much violence as to have scooped out an abyss of sixty-three fathoms in depth. The shores are in general low and covered with mangroves, but in some places they rise into a lofty range of hills. "Bembatok itself is an inconsiderable village, but Majunga, situated on the northern side of the bay, near the entrance, is a large straggling town, nearly a mile in extent, and containing a large population

of Malagasy and Arabs, whose forefathers were settled there from time immemorial, and who, from the relics of their tombs and other indications, appear to have been much more numerous than at present.

"The style of the buildings is one-half Arab, and the other Malagasy.

"The slave-trade was the principal source whence Bembatok derived its wealth, but this Radama suppressed on his arrival, according to his agreement with the English. A trade with the Arabs was also carried on in beeswax, rice, and gums, but this is of secondary importance when compared with the extensive traffic in bullocks, which they are now engaged in with the Americans, who jerk the beef, preserve the tallow, and cure the hides on the spot. Three vessels of that nation were lying in the harbour at our arrival, actively engaged in completing their cargoes before the wet season should commence.

"Notwithstanding the great distance the Americans come, and the delay they are subject to in procuring the cargo, they still find the trade lucrative. The method which they adopt in this traffic is admirably suited to the character of the people of Madagascar.

"The Americans have established small shops, where they retail a variety of assorted goods, which they give in exchange for the minor articles of trade that the natives bring in for sale. They also pur-

chase or erect a large wooden building, with a yard or pound attached, wherein they slaughter their bullocks and jerk the beef. The beasts, which are generally untractable, are driven to the gate of the pound, and as they pass through are hamstrung by a native, who stands inside with a sharp curved piece of steel, attached to the end of a pole, for that purpose; they are afterwards slaughtered when wanted The meat is then cut from the bones in large junks, which, after being jagged with a knife, are well rubbed with salt."*

On two occasions during the survey of the East Coast of Africa the vessels under the command of Captain Owen purchased their supplies of salted beef from the American vessels that had obtained cargoes at Bembatok Bay. The beef salted was pronounced admirable in quality, and well preserved.

In 1826 the Americans carried on a most lucrative trade from this bay. They purchased bullocks at two dollars a-head, which they killed on the spot, and salted the beef (as already described); they cured the hides and shipped also the hoofs and horns, selling the latter for the original price of the bullocks, which left the beef for clear profit, producing an enormous return at the Havannah, when the Cubans lost their supplies from South America.†

The town of Majunga, although formerly under

* Owen's Narrative, Vol. II., p. 102.

† "Visit to Zanzibar in 1834." Captain H. Hart, R.N., H.M.S. Imogene.

the dominion of the Sackalaves of Boueni and the Arab Antalaots or colonists, owes its present importance to the Hova Government, which, in 1824, on being taken possession of by Radama, established it as the head-quarters of the military force in this part of the Sackalave country.

Radama appointed his relative, Prince Ramanetok, governor of this part of Boueni, who had a house built for himself by the Arab masons, and surrounded it by a palisade; but in consequence of an attempt made by Andriansouli, the Sackalave prince, to retake Majunga, it was deemed expedient to fortify the place. Since which time, from its maritime position, it has become the principal Hova post on the West Coast of Madagascar. And as trade has increased, the huts of the natives have disappeared, giving place to more substantial buildings of wood and stone. When visited by M. Guillain, in 1843, it had about eighty houses and huts.

The town is situated on a hill commanding the neighbouring country; it is surrounded with a palisade having four entrances. One, opening to the South, leads to the landing-place; another, opening to the North, is the road to Antananarivo, the capital of the island; a third opens to the North-west; and the fourth to the East. Outside of the palisade there is a glacis planted with trees, which form a curtain to the fortifications. There are eight guardhouses, each having five men in it, who are regularly relieved during the night.

The South side of the palisade, opposed to the port, is faced with a stone wall, about ten feet in height, against which there is an embankment forming a platform. In this wall there is a gateway and six embrasures, in which cannon or carronades are placed. M. Guillain states that the piles of stones placed along the palisades led one to suppose that this stone wall was to be continued along the whole of this side of the fort.

On the South-west flank of the hill on which the fort is placed there is also a small bastion with two embrasures, in one only of which there is a cannon, which commands the road from the fort. Three other pieces of artillery are placed in different parts of the town.

The glacis is bounded by a fosse, somewhat irregular in its width and depth, running into the ravines which surround the hill. Bridges are built across the fosse at the four entrances, which are strongly barricaded and closed.

About two hundred paces outside of the lines, in a deep ravine to the N.N.W. of the town, is a spring which supplies the garrison, and also the inhabitants of the town, with drinking water.

M. Guillain remarks that the labour which has been employed to make this spring serviceable for the wants of the inhabitants of Mondzangaïe (a neighbouring town) shows that the artificers were not entirely strangers to the arts of civilization, and points to an epoch when the country was in a more

flourishing state. He tells us that there is a large tank, in pretty good preservation, from which the water falls in a cascade into a large basin, where the true believers perform their ablutions. The sides of the ravine, as well as the path which leads to the town, are planted with large trees, which afford a delicious and refreshing shade ; and from being constantly frequented by groups differing in age, sex, and costume, it forms a very animated scene.

The gateway on the North-west of the lines opens to a road which leads to a small fort, situated on Point Saribengo, about 1,000 yards from the town. It consists of circular masonry, forming a platform with a parapet. In this there are twelve embrasures equally distant around the circumference. Four of these had 4-pounders mounted in them. Outside of the battery there is an embankment of earth and stone, masking the whole structure, and adding to the strength of the works by forming a covering from any projectiles directed against the gunners by vessels from the anchorage. This fort is carefully guarded from the inspection of strangers.

The following is what M. Guillain was able to gather from residents in the town :—

The wall of Fort Avuroun'baton (on Point Saribengo) is about thirteen feet in height. One-third part of this height is taken up by the parapet. The platform is about sixteen feet wide. Four cavities are constructed in the interior, for magazines and the garrison to live in, all of which communicate

with the covered way which forms the mask with the wall, and are situated at the four principal points of the enclosure.

In the centre is the powder magazine, and a cistern into which water is carried in the dry season.

In the town there are neither cisterns nor wells, and no precautions are taken for a supply of provisions.

The garrison of Majunga is composed of 300 men; but many are absent in the country trading with the natives.

The cannon at Majunga are of different calibre—viz., 4, 6, 12, and 18-pounders; but they have only balls of one and six pounds in weight.

M. Guillain states his opinion that Majunga is as much exposed to incendiarism as Mouransang, and that, although it has a superiority in artillery over the latter, it would be easier to reduce, as vessels of the greatest draught of water could approach it, so that it might be attacked at the same time both by sea and by land. He adds also that, in his opinion, a small frigate, assisted by a land force of 300 men, would soon bring it to terms.

MONDZANGAIE.

At the foot of the hill on which Majunga stands there is a level plain, extending from West to East about two miles; there lie the remains of the once beautiful Arab town of Mondzangaïe.

Mondzangaïe was founded about A.D. 1745, in the reign of the Sackalave King Andriamahatindi-

Arivon,* called also Andrianbaba, who collected at this place the various settlements of Arabs scattered throughout his dominions in Boueni.

Although at first entirely subject to the Sackalave kings, these Arabs, in consequence of their intellectual superiority and aptitude for commercial operations, soon became of such importance, that they were allowed a place in the Government of the country, arrived at the highest dignities, intermarried with the first Sackalave families, and even mixed their own with the Royal blood.

This state of things naturally gave rise to conversions, and some of the Boueni kings and their families embraced Mahometanism.

The Arab Chief of Mondzangaïe had the supervision of everything connected with maritime matters, and received the profits arising from anchorage dues, which were charged on all vessels entering the port, the presents alone which were offered by strangers being reserved for the King of Boueni.

The Arab colonists, or Antalaots, at Mondzangaïe at last acknowledged no other authority, religious nor political, than that of the Sultan of Langani, for whom the prayer of Friday, or Kotba, was said; and afterwards, when brought to their senses and compelled to acknowledge the chief of the country, the Kotba was said for the Sultan of Constantinople.

M. Guillain tells us that in 1824, at the epoch of

* Guillain, Histoire, &c., p. 25 et p. 211. See also Notes K and L of the same work.

the invasion of the Hovas under Radama, Mondzangaïe* had at last 10,000 inhabitants, with mosques and a number of houses built of stone. Eight months afterwards it was deserted ; the Sackalave inhabitants having fled to the North, to escape the Hova Government, whilst the Arabs, who could obtain shipping, emigrated to Zanzibar, Comoro, Ibo, and Mozambique.

Ramanetok, the Governor, committed it to the flames, and all that remains of this once thriving town are its blackened ruins, lying in the midst of its smiling gardens and its silent tombs. Of the former inhabitants about 700 free and 200 slaves remain, inhabiting about 100 huts, built among the ruins, and about twenty dilapidated stone houses. There are still seven mosques, but only three of them are used for the purpose of calling the faithful to prayers.

The Hovas have a guard of twenty-five men here, and it is said that every precaution is taken against the inhabitants escaping. During the night all the boats and canoes are hauled up on the beach, and all communication is forbidden with the shipping until daylight.

The unfortunate inhabitants of this once favoured town are kept in the greatest subjection by the Hovas. Not one among them is permitted to leave the bay unless on the Queen's service. The ten

* See also "History of Madagascar," by the Rev. William Ellis, Vol. I., p. 338.

vessels belonging to the town people are employed, it is stated, on the Government service, without any remuneration to their owners, nor wages to their crews. These vessels are employed in carrying wood from Matzamba Bay, and keeping up a communication with Majunga and the Hova posts on the Betsibouka.

Commercial relations with strangers are entirely forbidden to the inhabitants of Mondzangaïe, for by that they once rose to their former commanding and influential position in the country; and so jealous are the Hovas of their entering into trade, that they are obliged to obtain permission from the Governor to supply even provisions to the ship of the stranger.

Debarred from those commercial pursuits which almost appear to be a second nature to Arabs, the descendants of the once all-powerful Antalaots drag out a miserable existence to provide the necessaries of life, to eke out which they are allowed to make salt.

With the small Hova guard, a mere handful of men twenty-five in number, it appears strange that 700 men of Arab blood should thus be held in subjection, but so it is; and how abject must be that state of serfdom to which they are reduced. Many have not the energy necessary for a change of position; others are loth to break family ties; while all are superstitiously attached to certain relics of the ancient Kings of Boueni, which have long been in the possession of the Governor of

Mondzangaïe. Their conquerors, like the soldiers of Imperial Rome, take advantage of these superstitions of the conquered, and with great ceremony and pomp, accompanied by the firing of cannon, they annually conduct these relics to the beach, and expose them to the gaze of the devout. With a similar political view, that of ingratiating themselves with the conquered, the Romans paid great respect to the gods of the nations which they had subdued.

Although Mondzangaïe, from the scarcity of labour consequent on the exodus of the Sackalaves, at this moment produces even less of the necessaries of life than it did formerly, still it has not lost its commercial position as an emporium; and either Majunga, Mondzangaïe, or some other town in Bembatok Bay, must hold the enviable position of the great emporium for Madagascar.

The fine river of Betsibouka, navigable for canoes,* and consequently for river steamers, from its mouth to within fifty or sixty miles of the capital, gives great facility for a regular trade between Antananarivo and Bembatok Bay, and is the natural highway into the heart of a country which restrictive policy, ever jealous of the aggressive stranger, has hitherto kept closed, by throwing every obstacle in the way of making roads, which would facilitate the advance of a hostile force from the

* "History of Madagascar," by the Rev. William Ellis, Vol. I., p. 338.

malaria districts to the high and healthy interior plateaux.

Mondzangaïe, previous to its destruction by the Hovas, in 1824, was the emporium for the products of Arabia, Persia, India, and, through Bombay and Surat, of Europe. Here the valuable products of the island found their way by means of the Betsibouka from the interior, and, by a permanent line of carrying canoes, from the whole of the West Coast.

To this emporium the Arabs brought their merchandise, consisting of raw silk, cloth, earrings, finger rings, beads, necklaces, precious stones, swords, powder, white cloth, &c. The last party of these merchants arrived by this route at the capital in 1829, just previous to the coronation of the Queen Ranavolona-Manjaka.

"Numbers of the natives of India, chiefly from the presidency of Bombay, have at different periods visited Majunga for the purpose of trade, and brought their merchandise to the capital, where some have remained to dispose of the goods, while the rest have returned in their ships to India, generally to Bombay or Surat, for a further supply; those remaining at the capital having usually opened a house for the sale of their goods, and employed the natives to carry their articles through the city and neighbourhood for sale. Though they went to see the Hova markets, yet they confined the sale of their goods to their own houses, or to the natives whom they employed as hucksters. They generally

brought silk, Indian shawls, white cloth, beads, precious stones, and necklaces."*

I advocate no new route for commerce. The Betsibouka is the commercial highway of Madagascar, made by the hand of the Divine Creator from the beginning of time; used by the Arabs before Columbus sought a new world, and gave a new Spain to Ferdinand and Isabella; and frequented by the humble Parsee merchant when Raleigh sought an El Dorado, Drake swept the seas, and Howard of Effingham vanquished the Armada.

"The tastes and habits of the Malagasy in favour of foreign commerce are increasing; they prefer articles of foreign manufacture to those made in their own country, excepting in those things in which they endeavour to imitate the works of their ancestors—viz., in the production of articles that are purely native, and are esteemed as such. During the reign of Radama the articles of foreign manufacture in greatest demand, and for which the highest prices were paid, were horses, saddles, and bridles, scarlet broadcloth, gold lace of various breadths, red satin, purple, green, and yellow silks, silk handkerchiefs, fine silk in skeins for mixing in weaving the kasena, or green purple and red silk velvet, hats and caps, fine calico for shirting, and coloured prints, gloves, sewing-thread and silk, haberdashery and hosiery, epaulets of gold, earrings, finger-rings,

* "History of Madagascar," by the Rev. Wm. Ellis, Vol. I., p. 338.

watches, and small musical boxes. Next to these may be named hardware and cutlery; such as pen-knives, scissors, needles, cast-iron pots, or kettles, earthenware, and glass.

"To these may be added blue and white Pondicherry cloth, salt, arrack, and rum, introduced among the inhabitants near the coast. Large quantities of salt are carried up into Ankova and sold at a very high price in the markets.

Madagascar is rich in valuable articles of export; but its resources are yet comparatively unknown. During the reign of Radama the demand for European manufacture increased with astonishing rapidity."*

The principal commercial transactions carried on at Bembatok Bay at present are by the American vessels which repair to Majunga, in connexion with trade at Mozambique and Zanzibar.

The cargoes of these vessels are assorted with a view to the different places they visit, and consist principally of unbleached and white cottons, cutlery, hardware, earthenware, glassware, powder, muskets, plain military clothes, made-up slops of a light description, writing and furniture paper, boots, shoes, hosiery, flour, biscuit, hams, cheeses, &c.; in fact, cargoes of *notions;* the comestibles being principally for the Mozambique, Zanzibar, and Bombay markets.

* "History of Madagascar," by Rev. Wm. Ellis, Vol. I., p. 339 *et seq.*

Each vessel touches on the outward voyage at Mozambique or Majunga, or at both, and leaves what merchandise may be required for the market.

The annual imports are at least 200 or 300 bales of American cotton (called at Majunga hani), and twenty or thirty cases of other stuffs, 1,000 muskets, and a like proportion of those other articles just named, amounting in all to about 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* prime cost.

The exports are principally hides and tallow, the former being purchased at one dollar each.

The money paid for the goods landed (for the productive resources of the country are not developed) is carried to Zanzibar and invested in ivory and gum, copal, &c.

An English house was established here; but in consequence of a bad speculation, it gave up the trade in 1840. On the other hand, it ought to be borne in mind that the Americans find that the trade pays well, and the Hamburg merchants have reaped so much benefit by following the Americans to Zanzibar, that they may soon be expected in Bembatok Bay.

Large vessels from Cutch have only ceased to visit this bay since 1840, in which year the last of them, being wrecked at Nossi-Lava, near Nossi-Mitsiou, was plundered, and her crew massacred by the Sackalaves. How different from the time of Radama, when all was confidence and prosperity.

Vessels from Mozambique call here on their way

to Din for rice and bullocks; and occasionally a vessel from Mauritius may put in for these articles of consumption so much in demand at that island.

The charges for vessels visiting Majunga are, anchorage dues amounting to fifteen dollars, and up to 1842 an import and export duty of five per cent., since which date the tariff has been raised to ten per cent. on all exports and imports, evidently with the view of checking trade and preventing foreigners becoming further acquainted with the island.*

Between Majunga and Antananarivo, the capital of the island and the seat of Government, there is constant communication, the journey taking from six to eight days. The route is practicable for carts at present, and therefore a carriage road could be easily made, and we know that by the rivers Betsibouka and Ikoupa the capital may be reached within sixty miles.

The Bay of Bembatok must certainly be the place for communicating with Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and the future Liverpool of Madagascar will be found there.

Proceeding South, we arrive at Boteler's River, which M. Guillain calls Cajemba Bay. The entrance to this river is nearly blocked up by a sandbank, but with care, by previously buoying a channel, a vessel of 300 or 400 tons may enter it. At the bottom of the bay the village of Kiakombi, consisting of about sixty huts, is situated; here a colony of Arabs are located, descendants of the Antalaots,

* A.D. 1864. 5 per cent. *ad valorem.*

who have all the commerce of the country in their hands. Dhows frequent this place from Mozambique, Zanzibar, Comoro, and the French settlement at Nossi-bé.

The imports and exports are the same as at Majunga, and they may be increased to any amount, if the country was in a settled state.

M. Guillain states that he heard that coal was to be found in the neighbourhood, but that after repeatedly asking the Sackalaves and the Arabs of Kiakombi whether such was the case, showing them at the same time a piece of coal, he thinks that he is justified in coming to the conclusion that this is a false report. Since the visit of M. Guillain, the coal mines at Bavatoubé Bay have been opened, as already mentioned ;* and among the specimens of the productions of Madagascar presented to the author of this work, by one of the first mercantile houses at Mauritius, there is a piece of coal; although the specimen is evidently of an inferior quality, still it has the appearance of having been exposed to the weather, which would be the case with all surface coal. The specimen is said to be from the North-west end of Madagascar, and the existence of carboniferous deposits there, which may be got at easily, is clearly proved by the mines which, it is stated, were actually worked by M. d'Arvoy.

Coal has been discovered in the neighbouring

* Page 248.

Continent of Africa, opposite to Tête; and Dr. Livingstone has reported its existence in no less than nine different places on the river Zambesi.

Further confirmation of the French discovery of coal anywhere in the neighbourhood of Bembatok Bay would at once settle the future destiny of Madagascar, and make it, indeed, not only in name, but in the important productions of iron and coal in close proximity, the Great Britain of the Indian Ocean.

Following the coast to the southward, we arrive at Boyanna Bay, called Bali Bay by the French, which is thus described in Owen's narrative* :—

"There are two rivers in this bay, each affording capacious harbours. Off the northern one, named Makumba, lies an island of the same name, almost connected by sandy flats with the main. It is of considerable size, but lofty, and presents in every direction a huge precipice, excepting in one small spot, where a deep rent in the rock admits of a dangerous pass to the summit. One of our midshipmen ascended this, after great difficulty, for the purpose of obtaining angles. He found the top a perfect level, and on it the ruins of two small buildings, probably of Arab construction. The island was evidently once volcanic, being undermined by numerous dark caverns, thickly inhabited by bats, measuring about two feet and a-half across the wings; their flitting about in the depths of the

* Vol. II., p. 130.

caverns made a great noise, which the nature of the place tended highly to increase, and the startled intruders, not expecting to find any living creature in such a situation, could not at first account for the uproar."

M. Guillain states that he had read in an old manuscript that fresh water was to be obtained on the East side of the Island of Mokamba, but that he had not an opportunity of verifying the statement by visiting it. He proves very satisfactorily that it was the Nouveau Massalage, or Petit Massaily, of old navigators, and one of the Antalaots' strongholds on this coast.*

Near the town of Mangonlou, on the West side of this bay, and in the dominions of the Sackalave chief Rabonky, the Jesuits have established themselves; and, under their director, Père Jean, Préfect Apostolique for Madagascar, they have succeeded in making some converts.

The Jesuits have a very extensive school at the Island of Réunion, for the education of Malagasy children, whom they obtain principally from the French settlements of Nossi-bé and St. Mary, and also from Bali, or Boyanna, and St. Augustine Bays, where the Jesuits are established.

These children remain at Réunion ten or twelve years, according to their age. The boys are generally

* Guillain, "Documents, &c., &c., de la Partie Occidentale de Madagascar," p. 234, *et seq.* Idem, p. 20, and Note G in the Appendix.

brought up as mechanics; the girls are taught needlework, &c.; while all learn to read and write the French language. When educated they are returned to their own country; and having been brought up in the Roman Catholic religion, they often induce their relatives and friends to be baptized in that faith.

Children are easily obtained, more especially on the North-west, or Sackalave portion of the island; for among them Radama I. did not abolish infanticide, although he succeeded in doing so among the other nations of the island. Among the Sackalaves, every child born on a Friday is abandoned, and these, added to the number who are exposed by the heathen party throughout the island, if born on what the diviners designate an *unlucky* or *omen day*, and saved for the Jesuits, form a numerous aggregate.

There is no doubt that the children thus educated at Réunion will help very much to extend the influence of the French amongst the tribes on the Coast of Madagascar. These Jesuits cast their bread upon the waters, and after many days it will return unto them. They do so very judiciously, especially devoting their attention to the Malagasy girls, knowing well the great advantages of educating the future mothers of the Madagascar people in French interests.*

Meanwhile these "Brethren of the Company of Jesus" are following out the command of Our

* M'Leod's "Eastern Africa," &c., Vol. II., p. 195.

Saviour, who said, "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven." In their efforts to arrest infanticide and propagate their faith they brave danger and death in a thousand forms; fearing not even the miasma arising from the malaria districts, which has hitherto successfully deterred all foreign attempts to obtain possession of this valuable island. Their success cries aloud to all Christian denominations—"Go thou and do likewise."

From time to time the Hova Government makes raids on the Sackalave settlements in this district; the last attempt is reported by Père Jean, in a letter addressed by him from the Island of Rèunion to MM. les. Directeurs de l'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, in which he states that—

"On the 5th of August, 1853, the Hovas attacked the Sackalaves, both by sea and by land; but their dhows and a three-masted American vessel, which was freighted by them, and started from the Hova settlement at Mazangaie, having 400 men and some cannon embarked on board of her, tacked ship on perceiving the French brig of war, Le Victor, at anchor off Bali."*

MENABE.

Menabe comprehends all the territory included between the river Douko, on the North; the mountain chain called Bongou Lava, or Long Mountain, on the East; the

* "Annales de la Propagation de la Foi," No. 159, Mars, 1855.

Mondonghi Mountains, on the South-east; and the river St. Vincent, or Mangouki, on the South.

This province is well watered by a number of rivers, the principal of which to the northward are the Douko, the Pandoukouara, and the Soukâni, which, with their affluents, are more or less navigable for small vessels, and on whose banks ebony and sandal woods may be obtained in abundance.

To the southward of these are the rivers Mamam-honté, Maronmonki, and Tangankassi, on all of which sandal wood may be obtained.

Proceeding to the southward, we meet with the river Sizonbounghi, which, with its affluent the Sakhouguka, taking its source in the Ankaratra Mountains, is navigable for 150 miles. This is the principal river of Menabe, and runs into the sea by a number of mouths, the most northern of which is in 19 deg. South latitude. Besides these may be mentioned the rivers Andahanghi, Ranoumanto, Bontsi, Ampatipatiki, Mourandava, or Menabe, Joule, Mandelonlo, Ankouba, and Mangouki, the last of which forms the southern boundary of the province, and separates it from Féérègne.

The coast line of Menabe, to whose interior access is given by the numerous rivers just enumerated, is flat, and the soil sandy; but at a short distance from the sea it becomes well wooded,

and although not generally mountainous, it is well diversified by hill and dale.

Iron is found over the whole province; but the most valuable qualities are to be obtained between the rivers Sizonbounghi and the Mourandava. The Arabs have been carrying iron from this side of Madagascar as well as from the Sofala district, on the opposite Coast of Africa, to Western India for many centuries. It is described as little inferior to Swedish iron.

Menabe produces many woods adapted for ship-building, and the most rich and varied for cabinet work. There is one description of wood found along this coast iron or steel instruments inserted in which will not corrode.

The gum élémi, indigo, cotton, silk, wax, tortoiseshell, and cattle, the latter in any quantity, may be obtained in this province, on the banks of the numerous rivers which give access to its fertile interior. Rice may be produced in great abundance in the low lands; but as there is no foreign demand for it, the natives generally cultivate maize, which gives them three crops in the year. They also cultivate potatoes, yams, &c. Fish of many varieties, and the green and hawk-billed turtle, literally swarm the rivers and seaboard; while the sperm-whale is often fished with success along this coast by American whalers, under which guise many slavers visit the Mozambique Channel and baffle the British cruisers in those waters.

Formerly one might purchase cattle at one dollar per head, and twelve or fifteen of them might be obtained for a musket; but at present cattle are sold at four dollars each, and a musket will purchase from four to five of them.

The articles of exchange for the produce of the country are those already enumerated when speaking of the North-western portion of the island. Coloured (generally blue) cottons appear to be preferred to white, while the objects of barter most sought after are the munitions of war—powder and muskets.

This at once tells that the country is in an unsettled state, and that, consequently, commerce does not thrive. An occasional dhow or larger vessel from Mozambique, Zanzibar, or the Comoro Islands, calls at Sizonbounghi or Mangouki, and to this limited traffic the former commercial prosperity of Menabe is reduced.

War—the curse of nations, the enemy of commerce, and the destroyer of that prosperity begotten by smiling Peace—has to answer for all this.

When Radama the Great undertook the conquest of the whole of Madagascar, Menabe, under the Sackalave kings, long resisted his arms. The hour came when valour could no longer battle with the mighty, and bleeding humanity, to save its starving offspring, had to submit to the yoke of the conqueror. Disarmed and depopulated, Menabe lay for many years a prey to the Hovas; but

on the death of Radama the Sackalaves rose, and have ever since striven to shake off the Hova dominion. Vain hope! Rival factions strive for the mastery in their councils; and disunion there loses what courage wins in the field.

The Hova posts established in Menabe are thus described by M. Guillain from information derived from the natives :—

"Bédiatsa, situated on the northern end of Bongou Lava, or Long Mountain, to the E.S.E. of Mavonthonzou, is about six days' journey from the coast. It is surrounded by a palisade; but is neither protected by a fosse nor by cannon. It is garrisoned by 200 men, under the command of Raikonti, an officer of the ninth honour.

"Ankofouti, to the southward of the former stronghold, is situated in the eastern portion of Ambalike. It is seven days' journey from the coast, and is placed on the western flank of Bongou Lava. It is surrounded with a fosse and a palisade, protected by two small pieces of cannon. The garrison consists of 400 men, who are under the command of Haounitsi, an officer of the tenth honour, while the second in command is Isizéhé (also called Bétrongo), an officer of the eighth honour. In the immediate neighbourhood of this fort the Sackalaves number at present about 200 souls, the remainder of the people having fled from this part to rally around their chiefs, Isifalgni and Iaragne.

"The river Manamboule, which takes its source

in Bongou Lava, passes to the North-west of this post.

"Mawen'daza, situated a day and a-half's journey further South than the former, is built on an eminence. It is surrounded by a double fosse and a palisade, and is garrisoned by 400 men.

"Malaïbandi is placed on a small hill to the South of the river Sizanbunghi, at the confluence of the rivers Sakenga and Manampandah, whose united waters flow into the first named. In 1841 this post was surrounded by a palisade, defended by four cannon, and garrisoned by 350 or 400 men, living in huts and unprovided with wells. At this time the Sackalaves, under the command of their chief, Iaragne, formed an expedition against this stronghold; and while liberating the Sackalaves held in slavery, and making off with the cattle belonging to the garrison, the Hovas, to the number of about 200 men, made a sortie. They were accompanied by a small bronze cannon, which the Sackalaves succeeded in capturing, and driving the discomfited garrison to seek shelter within the fortifications. This piece of cannon was transported to Iaragne's village, and is preserved as a trophy of the Sackalave success.

"Mingan'soa is situated on the bank of the river Mourandava, and about a day's journey from the coast. It is built on a level plain, is surrounded with a fosse and a palisade, and is defended by four pieces of cannon. It has a garrison

of 400 men, commanded by an officer of the tenth honour. It is in this fortress that Raïnissa, recognised as the King of the Sackalaves, is said to be imprisoned.

"The province of Féérègne, situated to the South of Menabe, is bounded on the North by the river St. Vincent, or Mangouki; on the East by the Tsienembala, or Vourimon Mountains; and on the South by the river Ougu'lohé, or Dartmouth, which runs into St. Augustine Bay.

FÉÉRÈGNE.

"Along its coast there are only three safe anchorages for large vessels—viz., in the channel between Murder Islands and the main; Tullear Bay, called also Tolia Bay; and Isalaré, or St. Augustine Bay.

"During the South-west monsoon Tullear Bay is looked upon as the best anchorage, the holding-ground in St. Augustine Bay being doubtful, especially at that season. These two anchorages have been used as ports of call by English vessels ever since we have had any knowledge of the island, and in 1642 an English establishment was commenced in the latter. At present the American vessels trading along the East Coast of Africa constantly visit St. Augustine Bay, and American vessels refit there. One is not, therefore, surprised to hear English spoken by some of the natives, and that all those frequenting this port to barter their goods are acquainted with a few English words.

"King-baba is the name which has been used by the reigning chief for more than two centuries, and his subordinates are recognised as the Prince of Wales, Prince Duke, Prince George, Tom Brava, Tom Palaver, Tom Frying Pan, and Jack Sodawater. Flacourt mentions that in 1642 the English had a military establishment in St. Augustine Bay, which consisted of 200 men, of whom 50 perished from the effects of the climate in the short space of two years."

In the early part of the reign of Charles I. the Government of England contemplated the formation of settlements in Madagascar, but the pushing of our commerce in those days was frustrated by the civil war, which covered the land with anarchy and confusion.

Among the accounts of the voyagers of those days who visited Madagascar the following may be quoted as the most favourable to the establishment of a British colony in St. Augustine Bay. The writer, Mr. Richard Boothby, was a merchant of London, and speaks from personal observation :—

"Forasmuch as great talk and rumour hath happened this last spring, 1644, about divers of his Majesty's subjects adventuring to Madagascar, or St. Lawrence, in Asia, near unto the East Indies, and there to plant themselves, as in other parts of America ; and seeing some, by report, are already gone upon that voyage, and myself having been desirous to deliver my opinion thereof, in regard of

my being and abode upon that island three months or more together; as, first, about eleven or twelve years past, by the right worshipful Dr. Henry Gouch, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who himself, in his passage into Persia, was in that country, whom I satisfied the best I could, out of those brief notes I had taken, not expecting to have been inquired my opinion thereof, for otherwise I would have been more exact and diligent in my observations. Secondly, about six or seven years past, the Honourable Endymion Porter, and that excellent gentleman Captain John Bond, well affected to that plantation, desired me to give some of my observations in writing (it being at that time when the Right Honourable the Earl of Arundel and other honourable persons intended to persuade Prince Rupert to undertake that business), which, no doubt, had he performed, would have been more honourable and beneficial unto himself and his brethren than to countenance a civil war in this kingdom. I also gave Mr. Porter some of the savages' weapons, as darts, and a knife about two feet long, the blade and haft together being much of an equal length; and also a curious India-painted bow and arrows, with a quiver lined with crimson velvet, for all which they offered to bring me to his Majesty to kiss his hand; but I refused, not thinking my present worthy so great an honour, and therefore desired to be excused. Thirdly, because I understand that Walter Hammond, surgeon, who

was, at the time of my last being at Madagascar, with us in company, had lately written a book of the worthiness of that country, and the benefit thereof, to the encouragement of adventurers, and dedicated the same to that worthy gentleman Captain John Bond, which yet I have not seen. I have, for the reasons premised, adventured to deliver my opinion in writing to public view, though rudely, being far inferior in such abilities to that honest, able person, Mr. Hammond, to the further encouragement of the worthy adventurers and planters that shall think fit to adventure their purses and persons in that excellent and famous action, and perhaps I may hit upon such inducements, by way of trade or commerce, more proper to my vocation, as may give more encouragement for the proceedings herein than in any other already settled in the ports of America.

"It is my humble opinion, very possible, that whatever prince of Christendom is once really possessed of and strongly settled in that brave, fruitful, and pleasant island—by computation three times as big as England—may with ease be emperor or sole monarch of the East Indies, with all the multitude of its rich and large kingdoms, which no doubt but the eyes of many European princes are fixed upon; but that great disturbances in most parts thereof, as at present, unhappily in England, hinder and give impediments to their wished designs, which, in zeal to God's glory, my gracious sovereign's

honour, and my native country's welfare and prosperity, I, from the bottom of my heart, wish that some more learned and persuasive pen than mine, rude and ignorant, might prevail with his gracious Majesty King Charles, the Right Honourable High Court of Parliament, and all truehearted, able persons of the gentry, &c., to take in hand, even in these obstructive times, to adventure each man some small proportion of means throughout the kingdom, which, though but small to every particular person, yet, undoubtedly, would amount to a very considerable sum of money, sufficient to undertake that action as a business of State. That I may give the best advice and encouragement in this affair that my weak capacity will allow, I shall descend to the following particulars."

The object of Mr. Boothby, from the above extract, was evidently to form a large company for the development of the resources of Madagascar, similar to the East India Company, already established in 1600.

Boothby and his party held friendly intercourse with the chiefs of the island, and while describing one of these interviews he says :—

"By this King's discourse, we found how cruel the Portuguese had been to them, coming ashore, and carrying men, women, and children away by force. They cannot endure the Portuguese, telling me how they betrayed them with pictures;" evidently alluding to their endeavours to introduce the Roman

Catholic religion, and at the same time their successful efforts in carrying on the slave-trade.

In his description of St. Augustine Bay, Mr. Boothby states that "there is good store of refreshing fish, flesh, and fowl. I gave leave to one of our men to lie ashore one night for to kill fowl that comes to roost towards the evening in the woods. He killed thirty-five wild turkeys in one night, for there is great store of wild fowl. The place is very healthful. I have been there when we have come out of Europe, five ships together; we have landed at the bay eighty sick men, and about forty of them was lifted in blankets out of the ships into the boats, and so carried ashore, for they were not able to go nor stand; and after they had been but three days ashore, they were all well, and able both to go and run; and at this bay I have been many times. There is good watering and wooding, that our carpenters did cut down good timber, and sawed and made both planks and boards, which was used aboard our ship."*

Mr. Boothby then describes "the cheapness of all sorts of food in Madagascar; the accommodation and means for dairies, brewing of beer, and powdering of meat for ships at sea; the means to make saltpetre cheaper than in India or elsewhere; how all sorts of excellent materials for building are to be

* "A Briefe Discovery or Description of the Most Famous Island of Madagascar, or St. Lawrence, in Asia, near unto East India, by Richard Boothby, Merchant." London, octavo, 1646, Chap. III.

had in Madagascar; how poor artificers may live by their labour, in all sorts of manufacture, and outstrip all nations of the world for the fame of the same; and how trade and commerce, to and from Madagascar, may excel in profit all others whatsoever."

A vast number of advantages were offered to England by the occupation of Madagascar in those days, and were so fully entertained, that Prince Rupert was appointed Viceroy for Madagascar. Twelve ships of war and thirty merchantmen were to accompany the Prince, and yearly supplies were to be sent to him from England. Sir Maurice Abbott, the Governor of the Honourable East India Company, and those under him, were ordered to give all their loving assistance and furtherance to Prince Rupert in this design, whensoever he came into Asia or India, and all other parts adjacent to the Island of Madagascar.

Let us now see what another writer, about the same period, states relative to the productions of this portion of the great island. The work we now quote from may be considered as the personal history of its author, who, at the age of fourteen, went to sea, and on a return voyage, while embarked on board the good ship De Grave, was wrecked on the South-end of Madagascar, in 1702. Robert Drury, in his journal, written after a residence of fifteen years in Madagascar, says: "I must not omit to mention two or three kinds of silk, which is in plenty in every part of the island where I have been; some

of a brownish colour; but there is one sort white—the outside of it is full of very small pointed prickles, which run into one's fingers. The cod or bag is about three inches long, shaped like a ninepin; at the top, when we take it, is found a hole, out of which I have seen a blackish worm creep. I am not able to describe the worm, nor have I been curious enough to know of its changing its form, as the common silkworm does; yet this I know, that there are no mulberry trees; but these worms and silk are found on three or four sorts of trees, cleaving when they spin to the thick branches or body of the tree. I have seen the people pull the cod out to a length on their knees with their hands, tearing it to pieces, and then spin it with a spindle, made of a bone and a rockstaff; they then weave it as they do cotton, and it makes very pretty and fine lambers. But there is some trouble in the managing of it, which is all the reason I can assign for their not making more use of it."*

From the above extract it will be seen that silk of different qualities may, by way of the Red Sea, be obtained from Madagascar, and placed in our markets in twenty-one days after leaving that island, instead of going by a circuitous route to China for it.

Drury mentions that, although he was a slave, at one time he possessed 200 hives, showing the great abundance of beeswax to be obtained from this

* "Madagascar, or Robert Drury's Journal During Fifteen Years' Captivity on that Island." London, octavo, 1729, p. 394.

part of the island. This Englishman was doomed to many and bitter disappointments in his endeavours to escape from the island, among which may be mentioned the following: An English ship, the Clapham Galley, Captain Wilkes commander, arrived at the seaport of Youngoule, in the neighbourhood of which Drury was then living, and held in bondage by a chief who had engaged to supply the Clapham Galley with a cargo of slaves. Drury, as may be imagined, endeavoured to persuade his master and mistress to sell him to Captain Wilkes; but being trustworthy, and from his being a white man, the chief refused to part with him. Before the ship left the harbour Drury endeavoured to communicate with her captain by the following stratagem: "I took a leaf, which was about two inches broad and a foot and a-half long, and marked upon it these words: "'*Robert Drury, son of Mr. Drury, living at the King's Head, in the Old Jewry, now a slave in the Island of Madagascar, in the country of Youngoule.*' I desired the favour of one who was going to the seaside to deliver this leaf to the first white man he saw. And when he returned I asked him what answer he brought. 'None at all,' he replied; 'for I suppose the white man did not like it, since he threw the leaf away; though I am sure it was as good, if not better, than that which you gave me. It is true, I *dropped yours;* but then I pulled one of the best I could find off a tree.' My heart," says Drury, "was ready to break at this disappointment.

Whereupon I turned from him, and went directly into the woods to give vent to my tears."

This incident in the life of Drury shows us how every circumstance which comes under one's notice while communicating with uncivilised nations ought to be carefully considered; for had Captain Wilkes inquired of the Malagasy who brought him the leaf, he might have learned that a white man wished to communicate with him, and have succeeded in eliciting the fact that a message had been written on a leaf, which he had dropped by the way. Fate willed it otherwise; and for some years Robert Drury was doomed to live the bitter life of a slave. At last the hour of freedom arrived, and is thus described by himself:—

"I was sitting with my master one evening, when two men came in with a basket of palmetta leaves sewed up, and delivered it to the chief, who opened it, and, finding a letter, asked the men what they meant by giving him that. 'The captain' (of a vessel then in the bay), they said, 'gave it to us for your white man; but we thought proper to let you see it first.' 'Pray,' said the chief, 'give it all to him. Here, Robin, your countrymen have sent you a present. What it is I do not know; but to me it appears of very little value.' Accordingly I took the basket. And with the letter there were pens, ink, and paper, in order to my returning an answer. The superscription was this:—

"'*To Robert Drury, in the Island of Madagascar.*'

"I was so astonished, that at first I had not power to open it, concluding I was in a dream; but at length recovering my surprise, after a little recollection, I opened it, and found it came from Captain William Macket. The contents were to the effect following:—

"That he had a letter on board from my father, with full instructions—as well from him as the owners of the vessel—to purchase my liberty, let it cost what it would. And in case I could not possibly come down myself, to send him word the reason of it, and what measures he should take to serve me."

One may imagine the surprise of the Malagasy people who looked on while Drury read the above, and saw by his countenance the deep emotion which that piece of paper caused to the Englishman. Drury left the island with Captain Macket, and on the 9th of September, 1717, reached England, after an absence of sixteen years, during which he had learned the bitter lesson of being a slave. Yet, despite so many years of suffering, we find that within two years this man left England for Madagascar, in the capacity of a slavedealer, and that he used his hard-earned experience solely for the purpose of purchasing his fellow-beings, with a cargo of whom he proceeded to Virginia, in North America, and realised a large amount of money by selling them into that slavery from which he had only shortly escaped.

In those days Englishmen were the great carriers of slaves for America and the Antilles. And the noble deeds of British abolitionists, continued for the last half century, have not sufficed to blot out that stain from the history of a nation which the finger of scorn will ever point out to violated humanity.

"Oh, stretch thy wings, fair Peace, from shore to shore,
Till conquest cease and slavery be no more!"

CHAPTER XV.

EXAMINATION OF FRENCH CLAIMS ON MADAGASCAR.

The Island of Madagascar has been an object of desire to France ever since the days of Cardinal Richelieu, who, foreseeing the important position which that island must eventually hold in commanding the commerce of the East in the Indian Ocean, both by way of the Cape of Good Hope and also by the Red Sea, granted, about 250 years ago, to a company of merchants the right of trading with Madagascar, evidently with the intention of eventually obtaining possession of that island for the Crown of France.

Jean Baptiste Colbert, also, the great financial minister of Louis XIV., to whom France owes so much of her greatness, appointed a Governor-General for this new dependency, which it was hoped, in the course of time, would form a large and successful colony of France in the Indian Ocean, and went so far as to give to Madagascar the name of France Orientale.

In 1665 M. de Beausse, the Governor-General, carried out with him the grand seal of Eastern France.

This seal represented the King, Louis XIV., in his royal robes, the crown on his head, the sceptre in one hand, and the scales of justice in the other: around the seal was the following inscription :—

"Ludovici XIV., Franciæ et Navarræ Regis Sigillum ad, usum supremi consilii Galliæ Orientalis."

But the company founded by Colbert, like that set on foot by Richelieu, became bankrupt from mismanagement and the personal animosities of those sent out to Madagascar.

The only period at which France has ever had a shadow of a chance of obtaining the sovereignty of this magnificent island—which from its commanding position is deservedly called the Great Britain of Africa—was when the French settlements in Madagascar were under the command of the master-mind of the Count Benyowski, one of the magnates of Hungary and Poland, who, after escaping from a Russian prison in Kamschatka, took service under the King of France; and being appointed to the government of the French settlements in Madagascar, by his tact, perseverance, and energy, obtained the confidence of the natives. But the French authorities at the neighbouring islands of France and Bourbon, envious of his glory, eventually destroyed him, A.D. 1786.

After the fall of the noble but unfortunate Benyowski, and the abandonment of the different settlements which he had formed, France only held

a few ports on the East Coast of Madagascar, for the purposes of commerce, which were under the direction of a commercial agent, and protected by a military detachment furnished by the Isle of France, now called Mauritius. These factories were kept up for the purpose of provisioning the Isles of France and Bourbon (Réunion), and affording supplies to the French squadrons occupying the Indian Ocean. At last, in 1810, they were confined to two—Tamatavé and Foulepoint.

In that year the Isles of France and Bourbon were taken possession of by the English, and the French settlements on the East Coast of Madagascar shared the fate of those islands; and on the 18th February, 1811, they capitulated to Captain Lynn, R.N., commanding his Britannic Majesty's corvette L'Eclipse"—M. Sylvain Roux having signed the capitulation as French Agent-General. After the capitulation, the fort at Tamatavé was occupied by a detachment of British soldiers, under the command of Captain Wilson, of the 22nd Grenadiers, who reported that event in a communication to the Government of Mauritius, dated Tamatavé, 27th February, 1811. Foulepoint, which was a dependency of the settlement at Tamatavé, with a subordinate French agent, also surrendered, and was taken possession of by the English. These portions of the coast were under the government of native princes, to whom M. Sylvain Roux had been accredited by the French

Government of the Isle of France, now Mauritius, as Agent or Superintendent of Trade, and the fort at Tamatavé was for the protection of French trade.

This capture was ratified by the Definitive Treaty, signed at Paris on the 30th of May, 1814, ceding these settlements on the East Coast of Madagascar to Great Britain, as one of the dependencies of the Isle of France, or Mauritius; and again that treaty was confirmed by Article XI. of the Definitive Treaty, signed at Paris on the 20th day of November, 1815.

By these treaties the Island of Bourbon or Réunion, which the British had captured at the same time as the Isle of France, or Mauritius, was restored to France, but no mention was made of the late French possessions on the East Coast of Madagascar in such restoration. The contrary is indicated by an ordinance of the King of France, dated from the Tuileries, December 17, 1817, regulating the terms on which trade with Bourbon shall be open to the English. This ordinance states that all kinds of merchandise brought in English vessels from the English establishments in Mauritius, Seychelles, and the English settlements in Madagascar, shall be admitted, subject to the same charges as those paid by French vessels.

The only English settlements in Madagascar at that time were those that had been surrendered by the French. This ordinance is signed by Louis XVIII. and Count Molé.

Previously—viz., in 1816—the Governor of Bourbon, or Réunion, had stated that France had no colonial claims on Madagascar, but desired to trade with the island. In the previous year the Governor of Mauritius had been authorised to allow trade for supplies of provisions—viz., cattle and rice—to be prosecuted between Bourbon and Madagascar.

Nevertheless, at one time the Governor of Bourbon objected to the claim of England to keep the settlements in Madagascar; and the French Imperial Government requiring that any settlements possessed by France in 1792 should be given up to that Power, orders were sent out to Mauritius that any such settlements should be restored. But it does not appear that the French had any settlements in 1792, or that any settlements were given up to France by the English Governor of Mauritius.

The claim on the part of France to parts of the Eastern Coast of Madagascar seems to have been an afterthought; and the French Government wished it to be understood that France had settlements there in 1792, and that the Treaty of Paris, dated 30th May, 1814, guaranteed the restoration of these possessions, an interpretation of the treaty which is clearly negatived by the ordinance of Louis XVIII., already referred to. But neither Tamatavé nor Foulepoint, the only settlements held by the French at the time of their capture by the English, were in possession of France in 1792, and

it was not until 1804 that French troops had been sent by General Decaën from the Isle of France to Tamatavé.

In 1829 the French took possession of Tamatavé, but it is well known that it was taken from them by Admiral Schomberg, in 1830, and restored to Ranavolona, as Tamatavé, Foulepoint, and Port Loquez had been restored to her predecessor Radama, who was King of the whole of Madagascar. We have thus clearly shown that France can lay no lawful claim to the sovereignty of any portion of Madagascar, unless through Great Britain, to whom any rights acquired by French possession were ceded by conquest, ratified by subsequent treaties.*

* See Chapter XI., p. 184-5.

CHAPTER XVI.

EXAMINATION OF BRITISH CLAIMS ON MADAGASCAR.

In his History of Madagascar, Flacourt states that "the English had an establishment, in 1642, at St. Augustine Bay consisting of 200 men, a fourth part of which was carried off in the space of two years by the insalubrity of the climate." This statement, although quoted, has not been confirmed by any English writers of authority on the subject. No allusion is made to an English settlement in Madagascar by Mr. Boothby, who wrote in 1646.* This writer had visited Madagascar, and especially pointed out the great results which might be expected from an English settlement at St. Augustine Bay, and he would, doubtless, have entered fully into details as to any settlement already existing there. Boothby informs us that in his time the English Government seriously meditated sending a Viceroy to Madagascar, and no less a personage than Prince Rupert appears to have been chosen to fill that appointment.

* "A Briefe Discovery or Description of the Most Famous Island of Madagascar, or St. Lawrence, in Asia, near unto East India, by Richard Boothby." London, octavo, 1646.

"I was present," writes Mr. Boothby, "when this was ordered (alluding to the equipment of the expedition) at the council table; but Prince Rupert, going into France and Germany about his weighty affairs in the meantime, it was thought fit, and concluded upon, that the Earl Arundel, Earl Marshal of England, should go Governor for Madagascar, it being the most famous place in the world for a magazine. The noble Earl," he continues, "hath written a book to that purpose, and allowed weekly means of subsistence to divers seamen, who have good judgment and experience all over the Oriental Seas and Madagascar. This honourable Earl was in such resolution and readiness, that there were printed bills put up on the pillars of the Royal Exchange, and in other parts of the City, that abundantly showed his forwardness in promoting a plantation in Madagascar; but a new Parliament being called, it put a stop to the design of Madagascar."

Political interruptions prevented the English Government forming settlements in Madagascar—if ever seriously contemplated since the time of Charles I.—until the fortune of war placed the French establishment on the East Coast of that island in the hands of Great Britain. As we have already stated in our "Examination of French Claims on Madagascar," in 1810 the Isles of France and Bourbon were taken possession of by the English, and the French settlements on the

East Coast of Madagascar—viz., Tamatavé and Foulepoint—shared the fate of those islands. When the peace of 1814 was arranged, the Island of Bourbon, or Réunion, was restored to France, but Mauritius, with its dependencies, among which were Tamatavé and Foulepoint, in Madagascar, remained in possession of the English.

"Soon after this period a proclamation was issued by the Governor, Robert Farquhar, Esq. (afterwards Sir Robert), taking possession of Madagascar, as one of the dependencies of the Mauritius, in the name of his Britannic Majesty. This circumstance appears to have given great offence to the Governor of Bourbon, M. Bouvet de Lozier, who loudly protested against such an act, on the ground of that island not having been formally ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of peace finally ratified in 1816. It is probable that, amongst other reasons for objecting to this measure, the mind of de Lozier was influenced by the fact that the Isle of Bourbon, as well as the Mauritius, was deeply involved in the slave-trade, which the British Government had happily renounced, and to which Governor Farquhar was openly and avowedly opposed.

"In 1815 a party of English was sent over to form an establishment at Port Loquez, with the consent of the neighbouring chiefs; but the whole party was shortly afterwards destroyed by the occurrence of an event in itself comparatively

unimportant. One of the petty chiefs in the neighbourhood, named Chichipi, being disappointed in not receiving a present from the English, went to Mr. Burch, who was appointed to superintend the settlement, to demand a piece of blue cloth. This demand was refused; a quarrel ensued, and some abusive language being used towards Mr. Burch, the latter was imprudent enough to strike the chief, upon which one of the British party was instantly shot.

"By the intervention of other chiefs the affair was made up, apparently to the satisfaction of Chichipi, who requested Mr. Burch and his party to meet him the next morning, to settle the matter in a more formal manner. Unsuspicious of treachery, they went unarmed, in order to avoid exciting the jealousy of the natives, and to show their confidence in the amicable measures to which they had agreed. On their approach the natives betrayed some symptoms of alarm; but finding the English without arms, or any means of defence, they rushed upon them, and the whole party, except the man who made his escape in a boat, were massacred on the spot.

"As soon as this melancholy event was known at Mauritius, Governor Farquhar sent a deputation, under the command of Captain Le Sage, to make inquiry concerning it. On their investigation, it appeared that Chichipi was the only chief who had taken any part in the business, and that his conduct

was so far from being approved by the rest, that he was obliged to abscond with his accomplices, and for some time subsisted in the woods, not daring to approach the coast. He was shortly afterwards apprehended by the natives, and having undergone a regular trial, was condemned by a tribunal of his country, and, although nearly allied to several powerful chiefs, was executed on the spot where the massacre had taken place.

"Governor Farquhar was so well convinced by these proceedings of the friendly disposition of the chiefs in general, that another party was sent to establish themselves at Loquez. As soon as they arrived, the neighbouring chiefs voluntarily came forward, and tendered their friendship and alliance; and, considering that the unhappy affair which had taken place required more ample amends, they ceded to the settlers an extensive tract of land and large herds of cattle, the former being guaranteed to them in a solemn Kabar, in right of a previous purchase."*

"The extent of the ceded territory is variously estimated in the documents we have seen. M. Balbi† mentions one hundred square miles; M. le Sage informed us, verbally, that it was as far as the

* Ellis's "History of Madagascar," Vol. II., pp. 110—12.

† Il paraît que c'est aussi sur le territoire de ce peuple que se trouve le beau Port Louquez, où d'après de recentes notices un territoire de 100 milles carrés a été cédé dernièrement aux Anglais pour y former un etablissement.—Abrégé de Geographie, Ile de Madagascar, par M. Balbi.

eye could reach from the summit of a high mountain, on which the natives were assembled under the five kings, when the cession was made. It appears at least to have comprehended the entire land lying between Cape East and the extreme North point of Madagascar, comprehending the peninsula and splendid Bay of Diego Fameh" (Diego Suarez).*

On the 23rd of October, 1817, Sir Robert Farquhar, Governor of Mauritius, on the part of Great Britain, entered into a treaty with Radama for the suppression of the slave-trade. In this treaty Mr. Pye (successor to Captain Le Sage), as one of the Commissioners representing Sir Robert Farquhar, is described as Assistant Agent for his Excellency's Government at Madagascar, while Radama is described as King of Madagascar and its dependencies, virtually ceding to Radama, although such is not expressly stated, all sovereign rights which may have been acquired by Great Britain, by right of conquest, and subsequent possession of the French settlements on the East Coast of Madagascar, as also those acquired by purchase or gift at Port Loquez. This treaty was subsequently ratified, on the request of the British Government, by Radama, in public assembly at Antananarivo, on the 11th October, 1820. Subsequent to that date the British Resident, Mr. Hastie, and his successors have been received at the capital of the island simply as accredited Agents of the Government of Mauritius

* "Madagascar Past and Present," by a Resident, p. 195.

and that of Great Britain. Thus were the claims of Great Britain on Madagascar relinquished to suppress the slave-trade—a voluntary offering on the altar of humanity by a nation that prefers honour to advantage which no Englishman will ever regret.


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